

Parasottama Pandita
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THE EARLY BRAHMANICAL SYSTEM OF GOTRA AND PRAVARA

A TRANSLATION OF
THE GOTRA-PRAVARA-MAÑJARI OF
PURUṢOTTAMA-PANḌITA

WITH
AN INTRODUCTION

BY
JOHN BROUGH
M.A., D.LITT.

*Sometime Fellow of St John's College; Professor of Sanskrit
in the University of London*



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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
ĀpDhS	Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra.
ĀpGS	Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra.
ĀpŚS	Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra.
ĀGS	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
ĀŚS	Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
AV	Atharva Veda.
BDhS	Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.
BSOS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.</i>
BŚS	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
BŚSpr	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, pravara chapter.
BhārŚS	Bharadvāja Śrauta Sūtra.
GautDhS	Gautama Dharma Sūtra.
HirGS	Hiranyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra.
HOS	<i>Harvard Oriental Series.</i>
JaimB	Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
ISi	Weber's <i>Indische Studien.</i>
KB	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.
KS	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā.
KŚS	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.
Pāṇ.	Pāṇini.
PB	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa.
RV	R̥gveda.
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
SBE	Sacred Books of the East.
ŚŚS	Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
TB	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
VaitS	Vaitāna Sūtra.
VāDhS	Vāsiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra.
VS	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>

SIGLA¹

SOURCES FOR PURUṢOTTAMA'S VERSION OF ALL THE LISTS

P ₁	Puruṣottama's <i>Gotra-pravara-mañjari</i> , India Office, Eggeling, no. 1777.
P ₂	Idem, Indian Office, no. 1778.
Ed.	Idem, edited by P. Chentsal Rao in <i>Gotra-pravara-mibandha-kadambam</i> , Mysore, 1900 (2nd edit.).
P	P ₁ , P ₂ .
p	Inferred reading of Puruṣottama's original text.
D ₁	Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's <i>Pravara-darpaṇa</i> , edited by P. Chentsal Rao. Mysore, 1900.
D ₂	Idem, Indian Office, no. 1780.
D	D ₁ , D ₂ .
R	Raghunātha's <i>Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya</i> . Indian Office, no. 1781.
Sk	Jivadeva's <i>Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya</i> , contained in Anantadeva's <i>Saṃskhāra-kaustubha</i> , lithog. ed. of 1861.
S	Readings noted in Chentsal Rao's footnotes.
Rm	<i>Saṃskhāra-ratnamālā</i> , by Gopinātha-dīkṣita, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 39. Poona, 1899.

ADDITIONAL SOURCES

1. *Baudhāyana*²

M	Madras MS.
G	Grantha edition of <i>Baudh. Smṛta Sūtra</i> , 1905.
T	Tanjore MS.
Bu	Burnell MS.
Be	Benares MS.
U	Ujjain MS.
A	Be, U, p.
B	M, G, T, Bu, (S).

2. *Āpastamba*

Garbe	<i>Bibliotheca Indica</i> edition of <i>Āpast. Śrauta Sūtra</i> .
ChRao	Chentsal Rao's separate printing of the <i>Āpastamba pravara</i> -chapter, in <i>Gotra-pravara-mibandha-kadambam</i> .

3. *Āśvalāyana*

BibInd	<i>Bibliotheca Indica</i> edition of <i>Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra</i> .
ChRao	Chentsal Rao's separate printing of the <i>Āśvalāyana pravara</i> -chapter.
VidhPār	Version of the <i>Āśvalāyana pravara</i> -chapter quoted in the <i>Vidhāna-Pārijāta</i> , <i>Bibliotheca Indica</i> edition.
Berl	The two Berlin MSS. of the <i>Āśvalāyana pravara</i> -chapter, printed verbatim by Weber in his Catalogue of the Berlin Royal Library. These two agree almost entirely.

¹ For further details of the manuscripts, see below, pp. 41 ff.

² For the first six I have depended on Caland's collations. For fuller details, see his edition of the BSS, III, p. ix.

4. *Matsya Purāṇa*

M 1	Calcutta edition of the <i>Purāṇa</i> , 1876.
M 2	Ānandāśrama edition of the <i>Purāṇa</i> , 1907.
M	M 1, M 2.
m	Inferred reading of the <i>Purāṇa</i> archetype.
K 15	<i>Pravara-dīpikā</i> of Kṛṣṇa-Saiva, Indian Office, no. 1779.

The following closely related accounts are printed for comparison alongside the 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi' list:

Mān.	<i>Mānava-pravarādhyāya</i> , Indian Office, no. 4599.
W	Berlin copy of the Bodleian 'White Yajurveda Parisiṣṭi', printed in Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Royal Library, I, pp. 54 ff.
{ }	Words, etc., to be inserted, not in the sources (or not given at that place).
[]	Words, etc., to be excised (or transferred elsewhere in the text).

Where the hyphen is used for the purpose of abbreviation in the apparatus criticus, the full form is everywhere to be supplied from the form given in the text, and not from contiguous words in the apparatus.

For convenience of comparison merely, the names in the *Matsya* list, Mān. and W, have been numbered to agree with corresponding names in K. & L. This of course does not imply that the order of names in K. & L. is that of the original text.

In printing the lists of proper names, capital initials have been used where the readings are certain or very probably so, small initials where they seem dubious. Where they are almost certainly corrupt, the obelus is employed. In view of the nature of the evidence, however, these three categories are to some extent provisional and must be treated with a certain degree of caution.

For purpose of reference the page numbers of Chentsal Rao's edition are given in the page headings.

PREFACE¹

The purpose of this book is to investigate the most important problems connected with the clan-system of the Vedic Brahmins, and to present the textual evidence for the details of that system at the end of the Vedic period. Since the Brahmins have preserved these exogamous clans (*gotra*) down to the present day, the system here described is not exclusively the concern of Vedic specialists, and the account given should also help to supply an important part of the sociological background for those engaged in the study of other aspects and periods of Indian civilisation.

A lack of awareness of this background has at times led to quaint results. For example, a recent English drama on the life of the Buddha portrayed the infant prince as receiving from his father, as if it had been a baptismal name, the *gotra*-name Gautama. It is true that scholars are not likely to fall into such egregious errors, but parallel misconceptions do arise from time to time. Thus, the *Nirukta* ascribed to Yāska is generally held to be earlier than Pāṇini: but to add to the argument the fact that Pāṇini 'actually mentions the formation of the proper name Yāska' gives no additional support. Pāṇini's rule is concerned simply with the grammatical formation of the *gotra*-name Yāska, a name which must have been borne by a very large number of individuals. Similarly, the identity of *gotra*-name is in itself no argument for identifying Kātyāyana the Sūtra-author and Kātyāyana the grammarian, or Patañjali the grammarian and the Patañjali who composed the *Yoga-sūtras*. It might at first sight be suspected that a name like Patañjali has been interpolated into the lists simply to ascribe a well-known author to a *gotra*; and such a thing may of course have occurred from time to time. But this is unlikely in the present instance. Weber² long ago pointed out that the name Patañjali is in some way connected with that of Pataṃcala Kāpya (ŚB); and although he was misled by a corrupt source (i.e., W, p. 152) into ascribing the Patañjalis to the Viśvāmitra *gotra*, the occurrence among the Kapis, as expected, of the forms Patañcala, Patañjala and Patañjali, proves the point (pp. 124, 126).

A different type of misunderstanding has arisen in the interpretation of the *Kacchapa-jātaka*.³ Here the tortoise which has seized hold of the monkey is

¹ The main part of this book was completed almost nine years ago, but owing to the delays inevitable in post-war publication, and other unforeseen causes, it has not been possible to produce it earlier. To avoid further delay, it has been felt advisable to include a number of additional notes and observations in this preface, rather than disarrange the pages which had already been set in type.

² *History of Indian Literature* (English translation), p. 223. S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, p. 230, seems to have thought that Weber identified Pataṃcala Kāpya and the *Yoga*-author Patañjali. But Weber's remark is concerned simply with the name.

³ *Jātaka*, vol. II, p. 360.

admonished, 'Kāśyapa, let go Kauṇḍinya', and Oldenberg¹ comments that this is probably an allusion to a marriage prohibition separating the two human families. But the Kauṇḍinyas, being Vasiṣṭhas, are in fact marriageable with the Kāśyapas, and the jest is the other way round: the tortoise has presumed on the gotra-eligibility to make advances to the monkey. The Pali commentator gives the correct explanation, but this is dismissed by Oldenberg in a footnote: 'Anders der Kommentar zu der Stelle'.

Sylvain Lévi² adduced the names Āmbhi and Bhagala from the *Gaṇapāṭha*, and as these are in all probability the originals of the forms Omphis and Phegelas in the Greek sources, he went on to argue that since Āmbhi as the name of a dynasty disappears from the sources, it must soon have been forgotten; and therefore the *Gaṇapāṭha* must have been compiled about the time of the Macedonian invasion. But again, both names occur in the gotra-lists, and the argument thus loses even a semblance of probability. The present work, by making the material more readily accessible, may assist towards a better perspective in matters of this sort.

On the subject of the *pravarā* ritual, Hillebrandt³ gives a number of the R̥gvedic formulae (see below, p. 20), and thereafter quotes the Sūtra-ritual; 'Gott Agni... wie beim Opfer Manu's, Bharata's, NN's und des Sohnes des NN., wie bei Brahman's Opfer' (see p. 9). On this he comments, 'Wir sehen zwar, dass hier vor den Namen wirklicher Vorfahren Manu, Bharata als mythische Ahnherren genannt werden... Aber nicht *atrivāt*, *bhṛguvāt* oder *angirasvāt*, wie im R.V. wird Agni angerufen, sondern nur *manusvāt*, *bharatavāt*, und das Ritual hat an dieser Stelle anstatt der früheren Mannfaltigkeit allein Manu und den Bharata's einen Platz bewahrt.' This, however, overlooks the fact that the variable N.N. here represents the *pravarā*-names, among which forms such as *atrivāt* regularly occur; and it is difficult to see why Bhṛgu or Angiras should be accorded a higher degree of reality than Manu or Bharata.

On the question of the magic potency of the *pravarā*-names, it may be of interest to compare with the examples cited on pp. 18ff. a much later example of a quasi-magical use of names, with the Buddhas of former times taking the place of the R̥ṣis:⁴

*vipaśvinas tejasā yddhyā ca śikhinas tathā
viśvabhukprajñāyā (sic) caiva krakucchandabaleṇa ca
kanakamuneh śikṣyāṇi kāśyapasya guṇair⁵ api
śākyasiṃharyā vīryeṇa śivam bhavatu sadā mama*

'Through the brilliance of Vipāśvin, the magic power of Śikhin, the wisdom of Viśvabhu, the might of Krakucchanda, the teaching of Kanakamuni, the

¹ *Religion des Veda*, p. 82.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, 1, 234ff.

³ *Vedische Mythologie* (2nd edition), 1, 71.

⁴ *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Trivandrum Sansk. Ser., no. 76, p. 397), chap. 36.

⁵ The edition has *guṇa*.

excellences of Kāśyapa, and the strength of Śākyasiṃha, may my prosperity be for ever assured'.

There are a few interesting divergences in the Sūtra-lists from the forms of names known in the earlier Vedic literature. In some of these a Prakritic tendency may have been at work, as in the case we have already noted where *Patañjali* replaces the older form *Patañcala*. Similarly the well-known name *Laugākṣi* occurs alongside the older forms *Lokākṣa*, *Laukākṣi* (pp. 162, 168); and *Gāṇagāri*, *Mādragāri* appear with *Gāṇakāri*, *Mādrakāri* (pp. 122, 127, 133). As against *Vārṇīyaddha* (KB vii 4) the Sūtra-lists all have *Viṣṇuyaddha*, a form which is further supported by later inscriptions. Here the replacement of *Vārṇi-* by the better known *Viṣṇu-* may have been assisted by a semi-Prakritic form **Viṣni-*. (Does this consideration help to explain the apotheosis of the pastoral hero Kṛṣṇa, of the Vārṇi-race, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu rather than of some other deity?) The *Āitareya-brāhmaṇa* (vi. 33) relates a quarrel between Abhyāgni Aitāsāyana and his father Etaśa, and the former is stigmatised as the worst of the Aurvas. (The *Kaṣṭhikī-brāhmaṇa*, xxx. 5, calls him Aitāsāyana Ājāneya, and the worst of the Bhṛgus.) In the Sūtras, on the other hand, the sources unanimously spell the name *Aitiśāyana*. This is doubtless due to the name Etaśa being no longer familiar, and a feeling that the first part of the name somehow contained *iti-*. Rather different is the case of *Gaurikṣita* among the Yāskas (pp. 92, 98). I have with some hesitation retained this form in the text, since the sources are unanimous for *-au-*, except for one late reading *-ai-* (perhaps a scribal emendation). But the original name must certainly have been *Gairikṣita*. The latter appears in the Yajurveda as a Yaska patronymic (KS xiii. 12), and the form *Gauri-* looks more like an error of writing than a genuine development. The name *Girikṣit* occurs also with the patronymic *Auccāmanyava* (see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*), and the latter would seem to be connected with the name *Uccairmanyu*, which occurs in the Baudhāyana list (p. 80) not among the Yāskas, but among the Vatsas.

In an earlier article on the subject¹ I have endeavoured to show that the 'Hymn-families' of the R̥gveda are the direct ancestors of the main gotras in the Sūtra accounts: the R̥gvedic Vasiṣṭhas, for example, forming a clan rather than a family in the narrower sense. Although the explicit prohibition of marriage within the gotra does not appear in the literature until the Sūtras, it is natural to suppose that these early clans also followed a rule of exogamy. This view is in harmony with a more recent suggestion by Professor E. Benveniste concerning the interpretation of the word *ari*. This word, which in the R̥gveda appears at times to refer to enemies and at times to friends, was examined in great detail by Thieme,² who concluded that the most satisfactory rendering was 'stranger

¹ 'The Early History of the Gotras', *JARS*, 1946, 1947.

² *Der Fremdling im R̥gveda*.

foreigner', since the stranger in some contexts might be a guest, and in others an object of suspicion. The name by which the Indo-Iranians designated themselves, *ārya*, would then be understood as meaning 'The Hospitable Ones'. This appears improbable as an ethnic name, and is open to the further objection that if *ari* fundamentally means 'stranger either as guest or enemy', there seems no reason why one side of the ambivalence should be arbitrarily chosen for the derivative, or why the *āryas* might not equally well be 'The Inimical Ones'. Benveniste¹ proposed to solve the riddle by taking *ari* as the designation of the other moiety of a society with 'dual organisation'. The word would thus denote for any individual that part of the tribe into which he or she might lawfully marry. This seems to me a most attractive theory,² and it explains satisfactorily the ambivalence of the term, since the *ari* would come as a friend to the marriage ceremony; while it is well known that rivalry, amounting at times to open hostility, is a common feature of the relationship between exogamous groups in many human societies. A striking passage in support of this interpretation is RV x. 28. 1, *vīśvo hy ānyo arī jagāma māmē āha svāśuro nā jagāma*, 'Though every other *ari* has come, my father-in-law has not come'. Further, the deity Aryaman is especially concerned with marriage; and the *āryas* might conceivably be, as Benveniste suggested, 'descendants of *aris*', that is, the offspring of legitimate marriage unions. However this may be, the Rgveda affords no evidence to contradict the assumption of an exogamous society; and Dr A. C. Banerjea³ has recently shown that the relationship terminology of the Brāhmaṇa period can also be satisfactorily interpreted on the same assumption, the term *jāmi*, for example, denoting a 'sister' according to the classificatory type of nomenclature: that is, not only the daughter of a man's physical parents, but also all the other women of his generation whom he is forbidden to marry under the rule of exogamy.

In an important article, Professor D. D. Kosambi⁴ has developed a theory that the Vedic Brahmins were to a large extent recruited from the priest-class of the conquered pre-Aryan population. We are unfortunately not yet able to prove or to disprove the contention that the *dāsas* of the Rgveda were the last remnants of the Indus-valley civilisation, though Kosambi has shown that this is at least a possible hypothesis. His main theory, however, is more difficult to accept.

¹ This suggestion was put forward in the course of a lecture on 'The Study of the Indo-European Vocabulary' delivered before the University of London in May, 1949.

² A slight adjustment is however necessary, if the 'hyman-families' of the Rgveda are in fact the exogamous units. The organisation would thus be similar to the later system, where a member of one gotra could marry into any one of the others, and a dual organisation in the strict sense is improbable. This of course does not affect the interpretation of *ari*, since from the point of view of any individual the society still divides into two groups, his own clan on the one hand, and all the remaining clans on the other.

³ *Studies in the Brāhmaṇas*, Thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London. Copies in the University Library, and the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

⁴ 'On the Origin of Brahmin Gotras', *Journal of the Bombay Branch R.A.S.*, 1950, 26, 21-80.

He holds, in brief, that certain priest-groups of the *dāsas* were adopted by the Vedic Aryans; that they in consequence adopted the patriarchal clan-groupings of those (Kṣatriya) Aryans for whom they officiated; and that from them many of the later Brahman gotras were descended, including the Bhṛgu-Angiras groups and the Vasiṣṭhas. The Viśvāmitras on the other hand are held to be true Aryan priests who were supplanted in the service of Sūdās by the *dāsa* Vasiṣṭhas. This is held to account for the later tradition that Viśvāmitra was a *rājāṇi*; and in general the theory is taken to explain the later rule that a Kṣatriya takes the gotra of his purohita, this being, according to Kosambi, an inversion of the original state of affairs where the *dāsa* Brahman took the gotra of the Aryan Kṣatriya for whom he officiated as priest.

Now it seems reasonably certain that the Rgveda shows traces of pre-Aryan religious concepts in its legendary material; and it may well be that individual *dāsa*-priests were adopted into the Aryan community. But this is a very different matter from the wholesale absorption of clans. An adoption on the scale envisaged by the theory would surely have left far more definite traditions. The traditional enmity of Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, for example, is easily enough understood even although both parties were of the same race. And it is not a sufficient answer to say that the facts were later suppressed, since an amalgamation such as is postulated would have had no reason to consider its origins 'too derogatory to acknowledge'. Moreover, as an explanation of the rule that a Kṣatriya takes the gotra of his purohita, the theory would appear to be superfluous, since it is admitted that the patriarchal clan-organisation was already in existence among the Aryans; and hence that alongside the adopted Vasiṣṭha Brahmins there already existed Kṣatriya Vasiṣṭhas, and presumably Vaiśya Vasiṣṭhas. The situation is therefore most naturally explained by assuming that in the Rgvedic period a gotra contained warriors and common folk as well as priests, and that the Brahmins later laid claim to an exclusive possession of gotras, explaining the gotras of the others by the purohita-rule. This does not in any way require that the priests should have been racially distinct from the other Aryan classes.

On pp. 26-27 of the same article it is stated that the Buddha, as a descendant of Ikṣvaku, 'claimed the *ādicca* gotra, and if the Buddha himself is Gotama, it can only be his personal name as his mother's son; for his step-mother, his mother's sister, is Mahāprajāpati Gotamī and marriage within the gotra is excluded'. But *āditya-gotra* does not refer to clan at all, being simply a claim to the lineage of the Solar race of kings; and there is no reason to doubt that the Buddha's gotra in the normal Brahmanical sense was Gautama. It is as a Gautama also that he is addressed as Āṅgiraśa. A matrilineal descent of a gotra name seems incredible, and the natural explanation would seem to be that Mahāprajāpati took the name Gautamī, virtually as a surname, on the occasion of her marriage into the clan.

Kosambi's argument on p. 39 concerning the descendants of Tvāṣṭra is largely void through uncertainty. The two names Tittiri and Kapiñjala, belonging to the Garga Bharadvājas and the Upamanyu Vasiṣṭhas respectively, are in any case small families within the larger clans, and may well be of late origin; while the name Tvāṣṭreya which he quotes after the Jamadagnis does not belong to the Sūtra texts at all, but comes from one of the supplementary lists in the Pravara-darpaṇa (see below, p. 43). Since these lists contain a large number of entries which are variants of the names in the Sūtra lists, it is not unlikely that Tvāṣṭreya here is simply a corruption of Bhṛāṣṭreya. Similarly the name Rāvapa occurs in some of the sources for the Matsya Purāṇa (below, p. 183), and as there is nothing to correspond in the Sūtra lists, it is clearly the result of textual corruption, and can be dismissed from the argument.

It is natural in considering a society with exogamous clans to enquire whether the clans are also totemic; and Kosambi, reviving the argument from animal gotra-names, holds that totemism was in fact characteristic of the gotras, at least in their origin.¹ It seems to me that the evidence is altogether too slender to support the hypothesis. A number of animal names admittedly occur in the gotra lists, for example Tittiri and Kapiñjala mentioned above: but these are names of small families within the clan, and it is *prima facie* unlikely that such small subdivisions should possess their own totems. By themselves, these names are no better evidence for totemism than English surnames such as Fox or Heron. From the names of the larger clan-groupings, Kosambi gives four which he considers to be totemic, but these are likewise unconvincing. Thus *Gotama* is merely 'the possessor of excellent cattle', or 'best provided with cattle', and is no evidence for a bull-totem. *Bharadvāja* is 'he who brings booty', and if the word also means a skylark, this is clearly secondary, and presumably results from observation of the bird carrying food to its nest. *Kauśika* admittedly means owl, but it would seem that *Kuśika* does not; and hence at the best the bird may have been named after the clan by the eponymous ṛṣi, and not the clan after the bird—if indeed *Kauśika* here does not mean 'Indra's bird'. Even the well-known sense of 'tortoise' for *Kaśyapa* may be secondary, since we have also the Prakritic *kacchapa* 'tortoise', presumably connected with Skt. *kakṣa*; and it is not improbable that *kaśyapa* 'tortoise' results merely from a folk-etymology. The essential feature of totemism which we should look for is the definite identification of an individual with his totem; and there seems in fact to be no evidence of this among the Vedic Aryan clans. The tortoise built into the fire-altar which Kosambi cites from ŚB vii. 5. 1 seems to be no more totemic than the toads used in medieval witches' potions.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 28; also JBRRAS, 1946, 22, 44. See also Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 82-83, who quotes names such as Vatsa, Śunaka, Kauśika, Māṇḍūkya, etc. For a detailed list of proper names taken from animals and plants, see J. A. van Velze, *Names of Persons in Early Sanskrit Literature*, Utrecht, 1938, p. 95ff.

It is not yet possible to write a complete history of the gotra system in the post-Vedic period. Information in classical Sanskrit literature is slight; but a promising line of research is offered by the inscriptions, especially the records of grants of land to Brahmins. In these the gotra of the recipient is regularly mentioned, and frequently the pravara also. Although the number of gotras and subdivisions mentioned in those inscriptions which I have examined is relatively small, and does not show the great diversity of the Sūtra lists, a detailed study of their occurrence and distribution might produce interesting results. Though the agreement with the Sūtra pravaras is generally close, there are occasional divergences, some of which at least must betray fictitious Brahmins: see for example below, p. 21, note 1. Similarly, in a copperplate grant of Janamejaya of Cuttack (*Epigr. Ind.* iii. 342) a Gautama claims the pravara *Gautama*,¹ *Āṅgīrasa*, *Vārhaspatya*, where the last name really belongs to the Bhāradvājas. In the Sūtras the Gōbhilas are a subdivision of the Śaṇḍīla-Kāśyapas (below, pp. 36, 161, 166, 170); but in an inscription (*Epigr. Ind.* iv. 112) we find a Gōbhila giving his pravara as *Gōbhila*, *Āṅgīrasa*, *Amvāriṣa*, which is clearly derived from the pravara of the Harita-Kutsa group of Kevala Āṅgīrasas (*Āṅgīrasa*, *Āmbarīṣa*, *Yauvanāśva*).

One curious point in the inscriptions is the term *anupravara*, which is foreign to the Sūtras. This word is used in two ways. In some cases it means the pravara in the Adhvaryu's form, for example, in the grant of Janamejaya mentioned above, *Kauccha-gotraḥ* (i.e. *Kautsa*-) *Āṅgīrasa-ṛṣi* (i.e. *āṅgīrasa-ṛṣi*)-*Yuvanaśva-pravaraḥ* *Yuvanaśva* (va) *d-Āmbarīṣa* (va) *d-Āṅgīrasa-anupravaraḥ*. In other cases the term is applied to the third member of a three-ṛṣi pravara, the second member being called *pravara*, and the first *gotra*. Thus, the Gautama mentioned in the previous paragraph described himself as *Gautama-gotraḥ* *Āṅgīrasa-pravaraḥ* *Vārhaspatyānupravaraḥ*. Other examples I have noted are *Agastī-gotraḥ* *Idhmavāha* (va) *-pravara* *cyavānupravaraḥ* (the third name should presumably be Dārdhacyuta, though the Sūtras in this case give it in the second place, and *Aidhmavāha* in the third); and *Kṛṣṇa* (ṇ) *ātreya-gotraḥ* *Ārcanānasa-pravaraḥ* *Śyāvāśva* (na) *-anupravaraḥ* (*Epigr. Ind.* iii. 134).

A further task which ought to be undertaken is a survey of the gotras of Brahmins at the present day. Professor Kosambi has informed me that he is urging the importance of such a survey in India, and it is to be hoped that he is successful in persuading his countrymen to collect this information. A start has in fact been made for one group of Brahmins by V. T. Shete,² who has published a valuable account of the gotras at present known among the Śukla-yajurvediyya Mādhyandina Brahmins of Mahārāṣṭra. In this work he gives an alphabetical list of the modern surnames, each followed by the gotra and the village where the family resides. In all he lists 188 gotra-names, and it is of great interest to note

¹ I have not troubled to correct the sometimes barbarous spellings of these inscriptions.

² *Vīdvāntha Tryambaka Shete, Gotraśāṣṭra*. (Yājñavalkya Śāstra, Poona.) 2nd edition, 1951.

that in addition to the major gotras and gāṇas, many of the minor subdivisions of the Sūtra lists still occur.

As this book was written under the difficulties of wartime conditions, the material was necessarily restricted to such books and manuscripts as were available in England. In this connection I am especially grateful to Dr H. N. Randle, then Librarian of the India Office Library, who generously allowed me to use the relevant India Office manuscripts in Cambridge. It is possible that the collation of further manuscripts from India might throw light on points which are still doubtful (why, for example, should the Vāmadevas, Gautamas *par excellence*, appear in a whole group of sources among the Kevala Āngirasas?): but this task I must leave for others. For the Sūtra lists as a whole the manuscripts here collated appear to form a reasonable sample, and it is not likely that further collations would materially improve the situation.

As Horace realised, it is difficult at the best of times to remain entirely satisfied with a work after the lapse of nine years; and while reading the proofs I have felt that occasionally I may have been overbold in the matter of conjectural restoration. But in every case the evidence on which a reading is based lies before the reader, and I have therefore refrained from attempting any radical revision at this stage. Such a revision could in fact only be accomplished satisfactorily by reworking the whole material *ab initio*, a process which would involve an additional delay in publication out of all proportion to the improvements likely to accrue. If obvious errors still remain, I take comfort in the thought that they may to some degree mitigate the tedium of the reward which appears to be promised in the last paragraph of the Sūtra texts (pp. 214-215). *Pater ipse colendi haud facile esse viam voluit*: but I trust that this first ploughing will ease the labours of any future cultivator.

It remains for me to express my sincere gratitude to the Syndicate of the University Press for their generosity in undertaking the publication of this work; to the printers for the care and accuracy with which they have produced it; and above all to my wife, who not only typed most of the text, but also throughout encouraged and sustained me.

J.B.

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INTRODUCTION

PRAVARA AND EXOGAMY

THE PRINCIPLE OF EXOGAMY, in virtue of which a man must marry outside his own hereditary group or clan, has come to be recognised as a factor of prime importance in the organisation of many widely divergent types of human society, and its operation among primitive tribes has been closely studied by anthropologists. Up to the present, however, the exogamous system of the ancient Brahmanical families has been largely neglected, and in fact there is no detailed and reliable account in English to which the anthropologist can turn for information. The small interest shown by orientalists in this particular aspect of the social organisation of early India is doubtless due in part to the almost unbelievably corrupt state of the textual transmission of the documents, which is indeed so bad that it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to reconstitute the text of the long lists of family names with any certainty. In spite of this, however, the main outlines of the system stand out quite clearly; and the present study has, therefore, been undertaken in order to make good this neglect, and to present an account of the organisation of the system at the end of the Sūtra-period (c. fourth century B.C.), as it is described in the so-called *pravaraūdhya*yas, which are appendices to the ritual Sūtras. For this purpose the *Gotra-pravarā-maijari* of Puruṣottama-panḍita has been chosen as a basis. This work, a medieval treatise on the subject, quotes verbatim the most important Sūtra texts, and comments discursively on them. Before proceeding to the translation of this work, however, it seems desirable to give a general account of the system, and to discuss some of the problems raised. It is hoped that both orientalists and anthropologists will find here material of interest, although naturally the latter will find much that is irrelevant to their purposes in the technicalities of a discussion which has been written primarily from another point of view.

Among the Brahmans, as also among many other castes in Hindu society, marriage is in general restricted in three ways. First, a man may not marry outside his 'caste' (*jāti*). Second, a man may not marry those who fall within certain degrees of prohibited relationships, generically designated his *saptiḍas*, i.e. persons who share with him in the funeral oblation to a common ancestor. This restriction corresponds in type to the European 'tables of prohibited degrees', and according to the most usual definition, extends back to the seventh generation on the father's side, and the fifth on the mother's.¹ Third, a man must marry outside his own 'clan' (*gotra*). It is with this third restriction that the present work is concerned, and specifically with the early history of the

¹ See for example GautDhS 4. 3-5, Manu 5. 60, Nārada 12. 7.

exogamous groups among the Brahmins, for whom alone we possess detailed accounts of the system, in the 'pravara-chapters' already mentioned.

Exogamous systems may be conveniently classified in two main groups, symmetrical and non-symmetrical. The former is best exemplified in the well-known dual organisation and its modifications into four- and eight-class systems, where a man belonging to one moiety of a tribe must always take a wife from the other moiety. A rather different type of symmetrical system may be seen in a four-class society, where a man of class A marries a woman of B, a man of B marries into C, C marries into D, and D marries into A.¹ The Brahmanical gotra-system, on the contrary, is non-symmetrical in structure. Thus, a man belonging to one of the eighteen gotras may in general marry into any one of the remaining seventeen, though there are indeed exceptions, which we shall note as we come to them. It is worth noting at the outset that there is not the slightest trace of evidence that the system has developed out of a more symmetrical type of organisation.

The Brahmanical gotra, which persists with little modification to the present day, may be defined as an exogamous patrilineal sibship, whose members trace their descent back to a common ancestor. It is clear that the prohibition of marriage within the gotra overlaps with the sapinda restriction, since many of the sapindas on the father's side are also sagotras. It is possible, therefore, that the two regulations were originally independent, and that the historical situation represents a fusion of two distinct cultural traditions. There is, however, no direct evidence on this point, and we must be content to observe that within the historical period both restrictions exist together. An approximate statement of the position, when both regulations are applied, would be that marriage is prohibited within the joint-family up to several (usually five) generations on the mother's side, up to seven on the father's side where descent is through a female, and without limit in the direct male line. This is the prescription of the Mānava Dharma Śāstra,² *asapinda ca yā mātur asagotrā ca yā pituh*, i.e. a fitting bride is one who is not a sapinda of the mother's, and (neither a sapinda) nor of the same gotra as the father. The often quoted verse, usually attributed to Śātātapa, *mātulasya sūtām ūdhvā mātrogotrām tathāiva ca*, etc., which prohibits marriage also within the mother's gotra, would seem to be a later extension due to an over-zealous puritanical spirit; and the lack of parallels in the legal literature would seem to indicate that it never became part of the regularly accepted practice.

The matter is further complicated by a quite different prescription, namely, that a man may not marry a woman who has the same pravara as himself. A pravara is a stereotyped list of names of ancient ṛṣis or seers, who are believed to be the remote founders of the family. This list is regularly recited at specific points in the sacrificial ritual. In the Sūtra appendices, these pravaras are classified according to the main exogamous gotras, and in effect therefore this last

prohibition is precisely the same as the restriction as to gotra, since those prevented from marriage by considerations of pravara are also members of the same gotra. It would in fact seem that the sole reason for the pravara rule in marriage was that it formed an infallible test of the exogamous group to which a man belonged, when the prohibition as to gotra was gradually coming to be insufficient by itself, since in the course of linguistic development the word came to be applied loosely to various subdivisions of the exogamous classes, and even to individual families.

In his book, *Hindu Exogamy* (Bombay, 1929), S. V. Karandikar has suggested that in the sacrificial ritual a man originally had the fullest liberty to choose whatever ṛṣi-names he wished for the pravara-ceremony, and he deduces that, at the time of this supposed freedom, the exogamous groups had not yet come into existence, and that in fact a man could choose to belong to whatever gotra he pleased. The gotras, he believes, were in origin ritual colleges, which only later became hereditary exogamous groups. Karandikar, however, has completely failed to support this view with logical argument. Even if the pravara-recitation in the sacrifice was originally a matter for complete freedom of choice it is obviously quite illegitimate to argue from this that exogamous groups did not exist at that time; and his suggestion that the Brahmins transformed their ritual colleges into exogamous clans on the model of aboriginal exogamous societies with which they came in contact, would seem to go beyond all bounds of probability. The view that the Brahmanical gotras were fundamentally ritual corporations rather than purely social groupings might be thought to receive some support from the common opposition in the texts between *ṛṣa*-gotras and *laukika*-gotras, these two expressions being taken to mean 'spiritual' and 'profane' families respectively. As we shall see, such a view is not probable. Nevertheless, it is clearly desirable that any discussion of the gotra-system which attempts to be comprehensive must include a treatment of the pravara question.

One of the most interesting and important historical problems connected with the system is the relation of the exogamous gotra to the endogamous caste. Senart³ was of the opinion that the castes were directly related to an Indo-European type of social organisation, and to uphold this theory has equated the Indian gotra with the *gens* of the Romans and the *phratia* of the Greeks. This theory has been summarily dismissed by a number of more recent writers, chiefly on the grounds that it is not till the Sūtra period that the prohibition of marriage within the gotra is evidenced in Indian sources.⁴ In spite of such categorical pronouncements, however, the whole question remains an open one, and a re-examination of the available evidence on the subject of gotra is obviously a desideratum.

¹ *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, pp. 207 ff.; English trans. pp. 175 ff.

² For example, N. K. Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, p. 19; S. C. Roy, in *Man in India* (1934), p. 85, seems to have missed the point of Senart's argument.

³ Hodson, *Primitive Culture of India*, pp. 92 ff.

⁴ 3. 5.

The unit of the Brahmanical exogamous system is the *gotra* in the wider sense of the term, and there is no reason to doubt that the connection of the pravaras with exogamy is a secondary one. It would therefore be logical to discuss first the gotras themselves, and thereafter turn to consider the question of the pravaras. But in historical times the two questions had become so closely inter-related that such a course would scarcely provide a satisfactory view of the subject, since the system of gotras cannot be adequately expounded without constant reference to the pravara-system. Therefore, for the sake of clearness, we shall first consider the pravaras.

From the time of the Sūtras onwards, the rule is laid down by the religious and legal authors that a man must avoid in marriage both (a) persons of the same gotra, and (b) persons possessing the same pravara as himself. This *pravara* is a list of names, in most cases three, of (supposititious) ancestors, which is recited at certain points in the sacrificial ritual. The older authorities, however, regularly give only one of the two prescriptions, and it is clear from the detailed exposition of the *pravardhāyāsa* also that the two rules are identical in their effect. Each *gotra* is subdivided into several *ganas*, or groups, each *gana* with its own distinctive pravara. All the *ganas* within one *gotra*, however, normally have at least one pravara-name in common—that of the eponymous *ṛṣi* of the major *gotra*; and according to the interpretation of Baudhāyana at the beginning of his pravara-chapter, two pravaras are the 'same' for exogamous purposes if they possess even one name in common. There is, however, an exception in the case of the two families of the Bhṛgu and Angrasas, among whom a majority of the names in two pravaras must coincide before marriage is prohibited. In effect, therefore, Bhṛgu may marry with certain other Bhṛgu, but under no circumstances can, for example, a Kāśyapa marry with any other Kāśyapa. This peculiar position of the Bhṛgu and Angrasas must be treated more fully later; here it is sufficient to remark that it provides a good reason for considering that the regulation as to pravara is subsequent to the gotra-restriction, since otherwise there would be no conceivable reason for the anomaly. It would seem that the already existing pravaras have been applied to the ordering of a marriage-system which they could not quite fit without a certain amount of adjustment in the case of the Bhṛgu and Angrasas. The question, therefore, is why the rule of pravara in exogamy should have been made at all.

The answer lies in the word *gotra* itself. In the Baudhāyana pravara-chapter, the term is defined as: *saptānām ṛṣinām agastyāyāmānām yad apatyam tad gotram*, i.e. a *gotra* is the whole group of persons descended from any one of the seven *ṛṣis* or Agastya. Leaving aside for the minute the case of the Bhṛgu and Angrasas, this definition clearly recognises the eight main exogamous groups named after the *ṛṣis* listed by Baudhāyana in a verse immediately preceding: Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Atri, Viśvamitra, Kāśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, with the addition of Agastya. These in fact remain throughout the units of

exogamy. But as is natural in the course of linguistic development, the meaning of the word *gotra* did not remain fixed in the sense of 'exogamous unit', but was frequently applied to subdivisions of these, and even to individual families within them. Thus we find in inscriptions Brahmins described not only as 'of the Vasiṣṭha-gotra', etc., but even, for example, 'of the Bhāguri-gotra'.¹ In the latter case, the Bhāguris are not in any sense an exogamous unit, but, as may be seen from the pravara-lists, are a subdivision of a subdivision of the unit. Panini² uses the word *gotra* in a very precise technical sense, which nevertheless cannot be wholly divorced from the everyday usage of his times; and in Panini the word has no reference to the exogamous groups at all, but is applied to the patriarchal 'Great-families', each of which can only have constituted a very small fraction of the exogamous clan.

The present work is concerned mainly with the organisation of the Brahmins, and a full consideration of the Buddhist and Jaina sources therefore lies outside its scope.³ It is, however, worth mentioning the technical use of the word *gotra* by both religions. The theory of Jainism conceives the common Indian *karma*, that is, the sum total of acts, etc., which causally determine a man's future existences, as something quite substantial which clings to the soul, and requires to be washed away for the attainment of salvation. Among the different kinds of *karma* they name a *gotra-karma*, which is held to determine a man's caste, social standing, family, and so forth.⁴ It is clear that this generalised sense of 'status in society' is not directly derived from the sense of 'exogamous unit', but that the word *gotra* had at the time of the construction of the Jaina system a not dissimilar range of meanings from the English word 'family'.

In the Pāli books, the word *gotra* is not infrequently used in the expected sense, as, for example, *Bhagavā Gotamo gottena*, *Kakusandho Kassapo gottena*, i.e. a Gautama, or a Kāśyapa by gotra. On the other hand, *Vipassī Kondāñño gottena*⁵ provides an example of the term applied to a subdivision of the

¹ Cf. A. S. Gadre, *Proc. Oriental Congress at Baroda* (1933), p. 669.

² See below, p. 11, also Brough *TRAN* (1926) pp. 41 ff.

³ Perhaps the chief outstanding problem is the position of men who are certainly Kṣatriyas—the undeniable being Gautama the Buddha himself, and the Jaina founder Mahāvīra, a Kāśyapa—but nevertheless bear well-authenticated Brahmanical gotra-names. It is perhaps worthy of note that Gautama is most frequently so called in the Pāli works by orthodox Brahmins (*śāman* *Gotamo*); and it may be that we have here in the Buddhist literature concrete cases of the Brahmanical prescription that a Kṣatriya should take the gotra of his *pariṣhṭa*. Naturally, and especially in a royal household, the position of *pariṣhṭa* would tend to be hereditary, as indeed it is, and this is at the present day, and the *pariṣhṭa*'s gotra-name would in such cases be applicable to his families. Some families of Kṣatriyas, forming as it were an alternative family name. On the other hand, it may be that we have here to reckon with a direct copying of the Brahmanical organisation by Kṣatriyas. It is well known that at the present day many castes who have never made any claim to Brahmanhood are nevertheless organised for exogamous purposes in gotras bearing the Brahmanical names. Some of these are known with certainty to have adopted the system which came from the Brahmins in quite recent times, for example, the Suraj-bansis (*Sūrya-bāṇṣī*), who adopted the Brahmanical gotra-names and gotra-exogamy in 1871—see Karandikar, *Hindu Exogamy*, p. 229, Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II, p. 283.

⁴ Cf. Das Gupta, *Hist. of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 191.

⁵ *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 3.

exogamous group (Sk. *Kaṇḍīya*). In addition to this, the Pāli sources have a term *gotra-bhū* (which, however, occurs only in the latest parts of the Canon) applied to one who has become converted to Buddhism, although he has not yet 'entered upon the stream'. The form *gotra*, as against *gotta* for the non-technical sense, is striking, and because of this Rhys Davids and Stede,¹ although translating 'become of the lineage', suggest that it is etymologically equivalent to the Sanskrit *gotr*, 'protector'. Thus, presumably, a *gotra-bhū* would be one who had come under the protection of the Buddha. Whether or not this is the case (and the explanation is not free from difficulties) there can be no doubt that the word quickly acquired the sense of the Sanskrit *gotra*, and that, moreover, in the generalised meaning already seen in the Jaina usage. Thus, the *gotra-bhū* is regularly contrasted with *puṭhujāna*, 'the common herd'. By becoming a member of the Buddhist community, he has, so to speak, acquired a new status. It is with the term *gotra-bhū* rather than with *gotta* that the technical use of *gotra* in Buddhist Sanskrit works is to be connected. In the Mahayanist schools, however, the word underwent further development. In some of the texts *gotra* can be fittingly understood as 'spiritual class', *gotra-bheda* being the distinction between different types of beings, some of whom are 'destined to be Bodhisattvas', some 'destined to become Pratyeka-Buddhas', and so forth.²

In the later Brahmanical works, also, the term *gotra* is applied to families and subfamilies as frequently as to the exogamous clans. In fact, the most usual application of the expression 'founder of the gotra' (*gotra-kura*) is not to the exogamous groups, but to the eponymous seers of the subfamilies within each major gotra. It may be this usage which has occasioned the desperate attempts of such writers as Puruṣottama to interpret the Baudhayana definition as applying to these subfamilies instead of to the major gotras.³

At all events it is clear from the examples cited that in quite early times the word *gotra* had become so elastic in its usage - denoting sometimes the exogamous unit, sometimes a family, sometimes social status generally - that to lay down the rule simply of 'no marriage within the gotra' was by itself quite inadequate, if the exogamous structure of the society was to be preserved. Therefore, we may presume, the Brahmins were forced to express the rule more explicitly, and, finding to hand the *pravara*s already classified according to the seers claimed as eponymous ancestors of the exogamous groups, naturally turned these to account. It is true that the rule 'no marriage between persons having the same *pravara*' required a certain amount of modification and interpretation before it fitted the requirements of the marriage system; but compared with

the indefinite range of the term *gotra*, the *pravara*-rule offered a clear and precise method of determining a man's position in the exogamous structure. For the present day, Risley has remarked¹ that among the Deśastha Brahmins the function of the *pravara* is to serve as a guide, for exogamous purposes, in the case of families who are not specifically mentioned in the *gotra*-lists handed down. There can be no doubt that the *pravaras* have in fact fulfilled this function since the earliest days; but it would perhaps be rash to suggest that this was the chief reason for the introduction of the rule of *pravara*, since it is reasonable to believe that when the *gotra*-lists were composed their authors included in them all the families with which they were familiar in their own immediate society.

We find, then, the rule stated as, for example, *asamāna-pravarair viśāhah*² - marriage is with persons who have different *pravaras*; *asamāna-ṛṣi-gotra-jātām (udakhet)*³ - a man must not marry a woman born in the same *ṛṣi-gotra*, that is, *gotra* as determined by the *ṛṣi*-names of the *pravaras*. The *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*⁴ prohibits a woman of the same 'pravara of *ṛṣis*' (*asamānārṣa-pravarā*) as well as one of the same *gotra* (*asagotra*). Manu apparently felt that the prohibition of *gotra* was sufficient by itself; but Yājñavalkya⁵ more explicitly says *asamānārṣa-gotra-jām*, i.e. a woman of a different *ārṣa-gotra*. The *Mitākṣarā* interprets this last expression as a Dvandva compound, 'of a different *ārṣa*, i.e. *pravara*, and of a different *gotra*'. This is doubtful, and is certainly misleading, since it suggests to the reader that two separate prohibitions are intended. It has indeed even in modern times been stated that Brahmins avoid in marriage both *gotra* and *pravara*. The passage noted above from the *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* is open to the same interpretation, although in this case the term *asagotra* may have been intended simply to explain *asamānārṣa-pravarā*. But in Yājñavalkya's phrase it is difficult to see any reason for preferring the *Mitākṣarā*'s rendering. The word *ārṣa* is primarily an adjective - 'concerned with *ṛṣis*' - and could only have the substantival meaning of *pravara* as the result of an ellipsis. It seems preferable to translate it as an adjective here; and this translation is further upheld by the *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* (which could hardly intend *ārṣa-pravara* to mean 'pravara and *pravara*'), and by the unmodified form of the *Vaikhāṇasa Sūtra-ṛṣi-gotra*. Thus, Yājñavalkya here is quite clearly defining the kind of *gotra* that a man is to avoid - it is not *gotra* in the everyday sense of 'family', that is, not the *laukika-gotra*, but the *ārṣa-gotra*, that is, the *gotra* connected with the *ṛṣis*. In brief, *ārṣa-gotra* means, not 'pravara and gotra', but 'gotra as determined by the *ṛṣi*-names in one's *pravara*'. In the use of the *pravaras*, therefore, we are to see simply a mechanism whereby the exogamous group is defined, and the system preserved from the dissolution which the inexact usages of the word *gotra* might have brought about.

¹ P.T.S. Diet. i.e.

² Cf. N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 84 ff.; Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 51 ff. On the theological development of the term *gotra* in the sense of 'saṁsāra lineage', see Obermiller, in *Acta Orientalia*, ix (1937), pp. 96 ff.

³ See below, pp. 205-9.

¹ Census of India (1901), vol. 1, Ethnographic Appendices, p. 114.

² GautDhS 3.2; VārhāGS 10.2

³ 24.9.

⁴ Vaikhāṇasa Sūtra 3.2.

⁵ i. 3. 53.

THE PRAVARA IN THE RITUAL

The earliest direct references to the pravara-ceremony as an element in the Śrauta ritual appear in the Yajur-veda texts. It is not until we come to the Sūtras, however, that our information becomes at all detailed, since most of the Brāhmaṇa passages which deal with the matter would be largely unintelligible without the aid of the Sūtras. In all these texts the pravara occurs only in connection with the Śrauta ritual, and there is no hint of its employment on any other occasion. But in later times, no doubt as a secondary result of its use in regulating marriage, the pravara came to have a much wider application, so that for the present day a modern Hindu can write: 'Every Brahman is obliged by law to pronounce the names of his important ancestors who were the founders of his family, whenever he has to perform a sacred act or has to repeat his prayers or invoke the gods, in order to show that, as a descendant of worthy ancestors, he is a fit and proper person to do the act he is performing. Practically, a Brahman repeats their name thrice every day, when he repeats his morning, noon and evening prayers.' So, too, Monier Williams, in describing the morning Sandhyā, says: 'The last act but one is a recitation of the family pedigree (*gotrocāra*); for every high caste man is supposed to be under the religious obligation of preserving the memory of his ancestors, and maintaining the line of his family descent unbroken. Not only, therefore, does he worship his departed forefathers with offerings and prayers at the Śraddha services, but the recitation of his own genealogy forms an important part of the daily Sandhyā ceremonial. For example, the worshipper says: "I belong to a particular gotra (or tribe of Brahmans); I have three ancestors—Āngirasa, Sāmya, and Gargya; I am a student of the Āśvālāyana Sūtra, and follow the Śākala-Śākha of the R̥gveda." But such an extensive use of the pravara is certainly not prescribed by the ancient texts—the silence of the Gṛhya Sūtras is probably conclusive for the Sandhyās—and usage has no doubt developed considerably since the time of the Sūtras. But it is clear that before then the pravara was already well established as a frequent and important element in the ritual.

In the ritual texts the description of the pravara regularly occurs in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices. But since in effect this form of sacrifice underlies all *īṣṭi*⁶ the recitation of the pravara forms an integral part of virtually every Śrauta offering. In the regular *īṣṭi*, the pravara is first recited by the Hotṛ,

¹ P. Chentais Rao, *Gotra and Pravara*, p. i.

² *Brahmanism and Hinduism* (1887), p. 407.

³ The complete loss of the significance of the *vyddhīd* form is certainly surprising. It is worth noting also that the ancient texts give no grounds for confusing the pravara-*ṛis* and the *Pris*.

⁴ Cf. *SBE* xxx, pp. 345 ff.

THE PRAVARA IN THE RITUAL

immediately after the Samidhenis, or Kindling-verses. While the Adhvaryu pours a libation of butter on the fire, the Hotṛ proceeds:¹

agne mahām asi brāhmaṇa bhārata; bhārgava cyāvānapānāvaurva jāmādagnya.

'O Agni, thou art great, O thou possessed of Brāhmaṇ-power, O thou who art kin to Bharata,² kin to Bhṛgu, to Cyavana, to Apnavāna, to Ūrva, to Jamadagni.'

Then follows the series of short formulae called Nivids: 'Kindled by gods, kindled by men, praised by the *ṛis*, delighted in by inspired sages.'³ This order of ritual seems to be invariable in all the texts. The Brahmapas make it quite clear that Agni is here being invited to officiate as Hotṛ, and it seems most probable that it was from this circumstance that the name *pravara* arose, only later coming to be transferred to the list of names recited in the invitational formula. The same holds good in the second pravara a little later in the rite. The *humi* in Hotṛ-priest, who, as the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* remarks,⁴ was not previously 'in very truth' a Hotṛ, is ceremonially invited by the Adhvaryu to act as Hotṛ. The formula is similar to the first pravara, but not identical. After a second libation of butter, the Hotṛ says: 'Announce (*āśrāt aya*) the sacrifice among the gods, announce me among men, for fame, glory and splendour of Brāhmaṇ-power (*brahmanavacāyā*).'⁵ The Adhvaryu then solemnly addresses the Āgnidhṛa, *oṣm ṛāṣṭaya*, and receives his reply, *astu śraṣṭaṣṭ*. He then continues:

agnir deṇo daiteyo hotā deṇa yakṣad vidānāṣ ciktātva manuṣvad bhārataṇad; jamadagnivad ūrvaṇad aparānataṇad cyāvanataṇad bhṛgaveṇad; brahmanvad eha yakṣad brāhmaṇa aya yujāṣya prāticitrah; (ayan) mānṣah.

'Agni the god is the divine Hotṛ, may he sacrifice to the gods, the wise and knowing one; as Manu did, as Bharata did, as Jamadagni, Ūrva, Apnavāna, Cyavana and Bhṛgu did, as Brahman (?) did,⁶ so may he bring them (the gods)

¹ TS 5. 5. 9; SB 1. 4. 2; KB 3. 2; TB 3. 5. 3; ĀSS 1. 2. 27 ff., SSS 1. 4. 14 ff., etc.

² Hillebrandt, *Nra- und Vālmundshöfer*, p. 81 (following Weber, *IS* ix, p. 324) translates *ler du dem Brahman, dem Bharata gedient hast*. It cannot be denied that something of the *ser* is the meaning in Bhṛgava, etc., but originally Agni Bhārata, so frequently mentioned from the RV onwards, was Agni of the Bhārata rather than Agni of Bharata, and the Brāhmaṇ was probably not so concretely personified at so early a date. The sense would seem to be: 'Thou art great, thou hast the magic power Brahman, moreover, thou art of our race (cf. expressions such as Bharatavarsa, Bharatākhaṇḍa, in the later literature), not only that, but also a member of the sacrificer's clan. The Brāhmaṇas absurdly connect Bhārata with *bhar-*, 'to bear', 'thou art of the obligations' or SB 1. 4. 2. 2 'sustainer of the creatures'.

³ *deṇadhu manviditah, ṛistato vipramuditah*. The Brāhmaṇas explain *manviditah* as kindled by Manu, but the contrast between gods and men seems too pointed to miss. These formulae are certainly very old, cf. Schiefelowitz, *Die Apokryphen der R̥gveda*, p. 116, and the *prāticitrah* where vocatives might have been expected give an indication that the ceremony was passed together from older material, possibly, though by no means certainly, after the final recitation of the R̥gveda.

⁴ 1. 5. 1. 13. Cf. also 1. 5. 2. 2, and Eggeling's note, *SBE* xii, p. 95.

⁵ This sense is doubtful. Neither the later god Brāhmaṇ nor the Brahman of the Upaniṣads can be intended. The meaning may be 'as the magic power (of these seers) did', or else *brahmanat* may simply be a not very meaningful echo of *brāhmaṇa* in the first pravara, on the analogy of *Bhṛgava*, *Bhṛgaveṇad*, etc.

hither; the guardians of this sacrifice are Brāhmaṇas;¹ NN. is the human (Hotṛ).²

Here also in form the pravara directly concerns Agni and not the human Hotṛ. But there can be no doubt that by implication the human Hotṛ is meant. It is he who is really asked to offer sacrifice 'as Manu did'. As the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa sagely remarks: 'By first naming Agni he propitiates Agni'.³

Such, in brief outline, is the context of the pravara in the ritual. Apart from quite insignificant verbal discrepancies,⁴ there is complete agreement of all the texts which deal with the matter, so that it is certain that already by the Brahmana period the pravara was firmly established in the ritual. There is only one point which has caused a little trouble, namely, the exact interpretation of the phrase used in the Brāhmaṇas with reference to the pravara—*ārṣeyaṃ* (*praveṇite*)—a phrase which is picked up again by the Sūtras, both in the ritual and in their pravara-appendices, often with significant alterations by way of exegesis. In view of the uncertainty it is worth considering the matter in detail.

ARṢEYAM (PRAVRṆITE)

There is no doubt at all that by this phrase the Brāhmaṇas no less than the Sūtras intend the recital of the pravara list of names. Karandikar,⁵ however, has elaborated a theory of the origin of the phrase which he uses as an argument to reinforce his theory that the pravara-exogamous groups were of very late origin within the Vedic period. It is therefore desirable to examine the question in rather more detail than would otherwise have been necessary, and to try to arrive at a definite idea of the history and import of the phrase.

Haug⁶ held that the word *ārṣeya* meant literally 'the ancestral fire', no doubt in the belief that this is the traditional interpretation of the commentators. But an examination of typical commentaries⁷ on the phrase shows clearly that this is carrying their explanation further than they intended. In fact, the commentators are merely concerned to stress the fact that it is the Āhavanīya fire which is addressed in the pravara, not the *ṛsis*, and they do not suggest that *ārṣeya* is actually synonymous with the fire. Haug, however, translates *ārṣeya* as 'ancestral fire', not only in a passage where the word clearly refers to the

¹ Egeling, *SBE* XII, p. 1341: 'The Brāhmaṇas (priests) are guardians of this sacrifice.' The word *brāhmaṇa*, however, is emphatic by position, the point being that they also possess the magic brāhmaṇa-power which janadagni, etc., possessed.

² TS 2. 5. 11; ŚB 1. 5. 1; BSS 1. 15; ĀSS 1. 3. 23; ĀpŚS 2. 16; BhāṛŚS 2. 15; cf. Hillebrandt, *op. cit.* pp. 87ff.

³ 1. 5. 1. 15. For this 'propitiation', see below, p. 17.

⁴ Such as the omission of the word *dayitvo* in the second pravara.

⁵ *Hindu Exogamy*, pp. 52ff., following Kṛṣṇāśāstri Ghule, in an article, unfortunately unobtainable, in the Marāṭhi magazine *Citrāmaya-jagat* (1923).

⁶ *AltBr* II, p. 479.

⁷ E.g. Śāyana on TS 2. 5. 8, ŚB 1. 5. 1. 9; Bhāṭṭabāhikāśāstrī on TB 3. 5. 3; and cf. Puruṣottama, below, p. 63.

ARṢEYAM (PRAVRṆITE)

pravara, but even in one place where the reference is not to pravara matters at all.¹

Weber² showed clearly that Haug's translation was wrong, and that it could not fit even the passage which Haug himself quoted from Āśvalayana, *yajamanyāārṣeyāṃ praveṇite*. *rājāṣin* *ēd* *rājāṇam*, where *ārṣeyāṃ* is paralleled by *rājāṣin*; nor for example Kāṭyāyana's phrase, *yāvanto* *ēd* *mantrakṛtāḥ*, which must refer to the *ārṣeyas*, who could thus hardly be the ancestral fires of the sacrificer. Weber, therefore, following the commentaries, took the word elliptically in the Sūtras, understanding with the masculine *ārṣeyāṃ* of Āśvalayana some such word as *ṛṣin* or *pūṛvajan*, and with the neuter *ārṣeyām* of Śāṅkhayana and Kāṭyāyana, *apatyāni* or *nāmadheyāni*. The singular form in the Brāhmaṇas, *ārṣeyam*, he understood as a collective neuter singular, 'line of ancestors' (*linnenreihe*).

This, however, is not entirely satisfactory. The phrase *ārṣeyāṃ ṛṣin* would naturally mean '*ṛṣis* who are also descendants of *ṛṣis*', and in this sense, indeed, it occurs frequently enough in the later Vedic hymns, where the authors pride themselves on their hymn-composing ancestry.³ But in the case of the pravaras it is difficult to see the reason for the double requirement. In fact, normally one *ṛṣi* in the pravara is not a 'descendant of a *ṛṣi*', but is himself the original *ṛṣi* (*mūlabhūta ṛṣiḥ*) who is, so to say, the founder of the family. In the case of *ārṣeyāṃ pūṛvajāṇ*, 'ancestors who are descendants of *ṛṣis*', the same objection holds. In the election of the priests prior to a sacrifice, the Sūtra injunction is normally that one should choose a Brahman who is *ārṣeya*;⁴ and indeed in this connection the Yajur-veda uses the phrase *ṛṣir* *ārṣeyah*.⁵ This, however, is in order to guarantee the priest as a member of one of the authentic Brahman clans, as being the descendant of one of the gotra-*ṛṣis*. It is clearly a distinct usage from that seen in the pravara-prescription though of course allied to it. The neuter form, *ārṣeyāṃ apatyāni*, would mean 'descendants who are descendants of *ṛṣis*', and moreover this use of the collective noun *apatyāni* is open to question. In any case *pūṛvajāṇ* and *apatyāni* cannot both be right at the same time. *Ārṣeyāni nāmadheyāni* is certainly the least open to objection of the four, and it must be admitted that this is conceivably what was in the minds of the authors of the Sūtras. But it does nothing to explain the phrase. Even if we admit that *ārṣeyāni nāmadheyāni* is simply an alternative way of saying *ṛṣiṇām nāmadheyāni*, it still remains to explain why this clumsy expression should have been used in preference to the more straightforward one. In fairness to Weber,

¹ AB 7. 25, and 8. 3. In the latter passage the word refers to the authorship of a hymn, cf. Heich, *HOS* xxx. p. 321, the use being similar to the *ārṣa* of the Anukramanis, meaning 'authored' by so-and-so.

² *ISL* IX, pp. 321ff.; x, p. 69.

³ KSS 3. 28.

⁴ See for example ŚSS 5. 1. 1; ĀpŚS 10. 1. 1.

⁵ TS 1. 4. 43k, 6. 6. 1. 4; VS 7. 46; see also ŚB 4. 3. 4. 19, and below, p. 213; Weber, *ISL* x, p. 70.

it is worth repeating that all these interpretations are founded on commentatorial authority.

The important point to make with regard to all this is that the Sūtra forms are in every case an echo of the singular of the Brāhmaṇas, giving as it were an exegetical commentary on the Brāhmaṇa phrase. It is therefore impossible to add the connotation of 'ancestral' to the word *ārṣeya* as used in the Sūtras, and from this go on to infer the same connotation for the Brāhmaṇas, as Weber seems to do—since he gives no additional reason why *ārṣeyam* should mean 'line of ancestors'.

Eggeling,¹ instead of taking the *ārṣeya* of the Brāhmaṇas as a neuter noun, believed that originally it was a masculine adjective qualifying a supplied *agnim hotāraṃ*. He therefore translates *athārṣeyam pravṛṇite* as 'He now calls on (Agni as) the ancestral (Hotr priest)', and adds in his footnote: 'Literally, "he chooses the ancestral" (ṛṣi)... In this way the formula is explained by Śāyana on ŚB 1. 5. 1. 9 (ṛṣinām sambandhinām adhycaryur hotāraṃ vrṇite)...

It is true, however, that, as the formula (he chooses the ancestral) became stereotyped, its exact import became forgotten, and *ārṣeya* was generally taken as a neuter, either adjective (viz. "nāmadheyam", "apatyam") or noun (ancestral lineage).² This is merely an adaptation of Weber's theory. Like Weber, Eggeling assumes without demonstration that *ārṣeya* can originally have of itself the meaning 'ancestral', whereas such a connotation can only have become attached to the word as the result of an elliptical usage of the type which Eggeling himself thought to be a later development.

Keith,³ in translating *ārṣeyam vrṇite* in TS 2. 5. 8, cautiously writes: 'He chooses one of a Ṛṣi's family', and notes that, while in the present passage the word is probably masculine, it is clearly neuter in KB 3. 2, 'descent' of the sacrificer. It is not quite clear whether Keith meant the 'one of a Ṛṣi's family' to be Agni, or one of the pravara names. It seems most likely, as we shall see, that the original passage meant the former, in which case the present translation slightly obscures the matter. It is, however, refreshing to find the word treated here on its own merits, without allowing the arguments of the commentators to obscure the root-meaning.

Karandikar⁴ starts his discussion of the phrase *ārṣeyam vrṇite* from the only occurrence of the word *ārṣeya* in the R̥gveda:⁵

abhi no arṣa dīvyā vāstūny
abhi cīsvā pāthivā pūyāmānah:
abhi yēna drāvīṇam aśvāvāmā-
bhīy ārṣeyāṃ jamadagnivā nah.

¹ SBE XII, p. 115.

² HOS XVIII, p. 198. By an oversight he says: 'Agni is invoked as the ancestral Hotr, usually with three or four ancestral names', whereas four is excluded by the Sūtra rules.

³ *Hindu Exogamy*, pp. 52ff. Karandikar's book, though containing a fair collection of material on gotra and pravara, shows such ineptitude in the handling of that material that his theories would hardly be worth refutation, were it not that several highly reputable scholars are quoted as having a high opinion of the work.

⁴ ix. 97. 51.

He translates the third and fourth pādas: 'Send us down the Ārṣeya like that of Jamadagni by which we shall be able to enjoy (sic) wealth.' This shows, he believes, that *ārṣeya* is a neuter noun, and he takes it to mean 'ṛṣi's glory'. He does not explain how he arrives at the gender of the word, but since he translates *rasu* as a noun, 'wealth', he presumably took *jamadagnivat* as a neuter adjective agreeing with *ārṣeya*, a proceeding which is quite indefensible grammatically. There is, however, no difficulty in taking the word in its perfectly normal sense as an adjective, 'connected with a ṛṣi'. 'While thou art purifying, send to us good things of heaven, all good things of earth. In particular, that good thing (rasu) whereby we may obtain wealth, namely, a ṛṣi's one, as in the case of Jamadagni'.

In the Atharva-veda, Karandikar thought that *ārṣeya*, from meaning 'ṛṣi's glory', came to mean 'one possessed of that glory'. He adduces no evidence for this meaning, however, and all the Atharva occurrences of the word can be quite simply translated 'descendant of a ṛṣi'. In xi. 1. 26 ṛṣin ārṣeyān is exactly parallel to the passages noted above for the election of priests, and means 'ṛṣi who are sons of ṛṣi'. Even with Karandikar's own translation, however, it is difficult to see the relevance of these passages to his argument.

In brief, then, Karandikar's view is that the origin of the Brāhmaṇa phrase *ārṣeyam vrṇite* lay in the choosing by the hymn-composers of an Ārṣeya, a 'ṛṣi's glory', resembling that of some great sage of the past. Thereafter, it would seem (though his exposition is not altogether clear), as a result of the practice of choosing Agni as Hotr, using as a comparison the names of ancient ṛṣis, for which he quotes seven passages from the R̥gveda, the latter practice was endowed with the phrase *ārṣeyam vrṇite*. The sole reason, however, for supposing the existence of a custom of 'choosing a ṛṣi's glory' lies in the R̥gveda passage quoted, and, as we have seen, that passage can be more plausibly translated otherwise. It is also worth noting that the word *ārṣeya* does not belong to the ritual itself, but is purely a concise formula of the Brāhmaṇas to denote the recitation of the pravara. In any case, it is difficult to see the relevance of this theory since Karandikar admits that already in the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* the meaning is: 'He chooses Agni, belonging to the ṛṣis, Hotr'. Finally he states, without adducing any further evidence, that as the original meaning was entirely overlooked, *ārṣeya* came to mean a ṛṣi possessed of great powers, *ārṣeya* powers, believing that in this way he accounts for the plural forms of the Sūtras.

All this is very confused, and moreover superfluous. Even if *ārṣeya* did mean 'ṛṣi's glory' in R̥gvedic times, nothing is gained thereby towards the elucidation of the pravara. Karandikar's motive emerges at the end of his discussion: 'Just as in old times the poet sought the Ārṣeya of any particular ṛṣi he liked, so in choosing Agni for Hotr, the sacrificer had the fullest liberty to choose whatever ancient ṛṣi he liked, for his standard of comparison. The very word *pravara* from *vr* to select, is suggestive of the free choice left to the sacrificer.'

In this fashion Karandikar supports his theory that in early Brahmana times a man was entirely at liberty to decide for himself to which pravara-group he was to belong, and that these groups were in origin groups of formal discipleship and not of kinship. The arguments which he uses to support this theory are none of them conclusive, and the present one, based on his view of the phrase *ārṣeyam vṛṇite*, is, as we have seen, completely wanting in cogency. Certainly the texts which deal directly with the pravaras give no grounds at all for the view that it was ever a matter for complete freedom of choice.

The earliest occurrence in the texts preserved to us of the phrase *ārṣeyam vṛṇite* is in the *Taittiriya-saṃhitā*,¹ and it is worth stressing the point that there it occurs in its context perfectly naturally, and has certainly not the appearance of a stereotyped formula. One is therefore led to suspect that the later texts, where the phrase is unquestionably a formula, are in all probability directly or indirectly dependent on the *Taittiriya*, or more probably, on a common Yajus tradition,² for their wording of the matter. The *Taittiriya* passage in question reads:

trayo vā agnayo havyavāhana devānām havyavāhanah pitṛnām saharakṣā asurāṇām, ta etarhy ā kṣamsante, mām vāriṣyate mām iti; cṛnīdhvam havyavāhanam ity āha; ya eva devānām tam vṛṇite; āṛṣeyam vṛṇite bandhor eva naiti atho saṃtatya; parastād arāveco vṛṇite, tasmāt parastād arāveco manuṣyān pitaro 'nu pra pīpate.

'There are three Agnis, the Oblation-carrier of the gods, the Offering-carrier of the Fathers, the Rakṣas-companion of the Asuras. These here recite, "We will he choose, me"; "Choose ye the Oblation-carrier", he says;³ he thus chooses the one who is of the gods. He chooses him as being connected with the *ṛṣis*. He does not indeed depart from the relationship (with the *ṛṣis*), and so it conduces to continuity. He chooses from the remote end the nearer ones, therefore the Fathers, from the remote end the nearer ones, drink in order before men.' The formula *agne mahān aśi brāhmaṇa bhūrata* is explained immediately after this in the *Samhitā*, while the *Brāhmaṇa*⁴ gives the normal order, inserting the words *aśv aśau* to denote the proper names of the pravara.

The *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*⁵ likewise adheres to the order of the ritual, and after explaining the words *brāhmaṇa bhārata*, continues:

athārṣeyam pracṛṇite, ṛṣibhyas caivainam etad devecbhyas ca nivedayaty, ayam mahāvīryyo yo yajñam prāpād iti, tasmād āṛṣeyam pracṛṇite. parastād arāc prāvṛṇite, parastād dhy arāvecyah prajāḥ prajāyante, jyāyasaṃpataya u caivāntam nihnuta, idam hi pitecāgre 'tha putro 'tha pautras, tasmāt parastād ar āc pracṛṇite.

¹ 2. 5. 8.

² There is, however, nothing parallel in the extant Samhitas of the other Śākhās of the Black Yajus.

³ I.e. in the last of the Samudheni-verses, which immediately precede the pravara.

⁴ TB 3. 5. 3.

⁵ 1. 4. 2. 3.

The important point which seems to have been overlooked hitherto, is that the *Śatapatha* here, as frequently elsewhere, tacitly criticises and emends the version of the Black Yajus. In view of the relationship between the two divisions of the Yajur-veda, there is usually a *prima facie* probability that such variations are significant. The most important here is the use of *pracṛṇite* for the simple verb of the *Taittiriya* version. The clue to this variant would seem to lie in the frequent stylistic habit of the Brāhmanas and Sūtras of denoting the performance of an action by means of a verb cognate with the name of the action, instead of by a noun plus a verb of performing.¹ Thus *pracṛṇite* would mean here, 'he recites the pravara', *ārṣeyam* being an adjective qualifying the noun *pravara* implied by the verb. Thus, the Vajasaneyins would seem to have taken the phrase as a formula, and considering it as inadequate and obscure—as, taken from its context in the *Taittiriya*, it undoubtedly is—produced an emended version of their own. This interpretation of *pracṛṇite* is strengthened by the use of the adverbial *arāc* in place of the accusative *arāveco* of the *Taittiriya*,² since in the sense 'he recites the pravara' the verb would naturally be intransitive. The whole passage then means: 'Next he recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names; he thus makes him known in this matter to the *ṛṣis* and to the gods, with the thought, "Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice"'. It is for this reason that he recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names. He recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards, for from the remote end hitherwards a lineage is propagated. He thus also conceals him from (the wrath of) the Lord of the Elder One.³ For here (among men) the father comes first, then the son, then the grandson. Therefore he recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards.'

We now come to the *Sūtra* passages. As we have seen above, the method adopted by Weber and Eggeling, of explaining these passages on their own merits, and then referring back from them to the Brāhmanas, is clearly to attack the problem from the wrong end. What seems to have happened is that the phrase *ārṣeyam pracṛṇite*, from meaning 'he recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names', came to be understood to mean 'he recites (or chooses) the *ārṣeya*', i.e. the word *ārṣeya* came to be used synonymously with *pravara*. Such a development is an entirely natural one, and it is of course perfectly legitimate to assume that it was already taking place before the final redaction of the *Śatapatha*, since the later part of the *Āitareya*⁴ and the *Kausitaki*⁵ already use it in this sense. The *Sūtras* merely take this process one step further, and apply the word to the members

¹ E.g. *saṃmucyati*, 'he performs the Sāṃnyāsa ceremony', *śāśadhiti*, 'he performs the *śāśadhiti*', *antāha*, 'he recites the *antāha* verse', *capati*, 'he recites the *vijya*-verse', etc.

² But the apparent change of object from the fire to the seers is certainly awkward in the *Taittiriya* version. The commentators are doubtless right in treating it as an ellipsis 'He chooses (reciting the names), from the remote end to the nearer ones'.

³ This very shadowy figure appears to be mentioned nowhere else in the literature. The sense 'propitiate' for *nihnuta*, accepted by Eggeling, is probably a later development. Cf. p. 17.

⁴ AB 7. 25.

⁵ KB 1. 2.

of the pravara themselves. Thus Āśvalāyana, *yajamānasyārṣeṣyān pravrñṣīte*, 'he recites the members of the pravara apposite to the sacrificer'.¹ Alternately, it is applied to the names, as in Katṛyana² and Śaṅkhāyana,³ *yajamānasya trīṇy ārṣeṣyān abhic yārṣṭya*, 'citing three pravara-names of the sacrificer'. Āpastamba and Bhāradvāja employ the interesting phrase *yatharṣeṣo yajamānaḥ*, 'according as the sacrificer is provided with *ārṣeṣas*, pravara-seers'.⁴

In short, then, the whole history of the phrase can be easily and naturally explained without having recourse to Karandikar's 'ṛṣi's glory', and with this the chief argument for his view, that originally the sacrificer had the fullest liberty in the choice of pravara, must be considered completely unsatisfactory.

One further point of importance emerges from this discussion. The verb *vrñṣīte* originally applies to Agni, not to the pravara-*ṛṣis*, and the fact that the Sūtras use it with the *ṛṣi*-names as its direct object must not be taken to show that the *ṛṣis* were the subject of choice. Even in medieval times, the author of the *Gotra-pravara-mañjarī* found it necessary to controvert this view.⁵ The stock explanation, namely, the ellipsis of some such word as *saṁkīrtya*, fits quite well in the passage from the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, but seems somewhat dubious in the case of the Sūtras. Rather, what has happened there is that the verb *vrñṣīte* has become, so to speak, entangled in the technical phraseology of the matter, and is used automatically by the authors of the Sūtras, without any insistence on its strict meaning being intended. It is perhaps worth noting that in any case the conception of freedom of choice in such ritual matters is altogether foreign to the spirit of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. It is true, indeed, that the texts in numerous instances allow alternatives in insignificant matters of detail, or else mention an alternative practice merely in order to disapprove of it. But in matters of real significance, there is seldom any freedom of choice left to the individual priest. Such frequent phrases as 'We choose Agni as our messenger', going back to Ṛgvedic times, should not mislead us. The choice is purely a fictitious one, and the possibility of choosing a different deity on such an occasion does not seem to have presented itself. The predominating idea of the verb *vrñṣīte* is in fact often better brought out by some such rendering as 'take to oneself' rather than 'choose'. Even in the infrequent cases where the 'choice' is underlined, as for example in the Praśa at the end of the Sautrāntī rite.⁶ '(O Agni), ṛṣi, son of a ṛṣi, grandson of ṛṣis (ṛṣa ārṣeṣya ṛṣīṇām napāt), this sacrificer has chosen thee to-day out of many who came here together (*bahubhyā ā saṁgatebhyah*), the qualification is added more with a view to increasing the praise of the deity, and it is clear that the ritual did not admit of an alternative.

¹ ĀŚS 1. 3. 1.

² ŚŚS 1. 4. 15.

³ See below, pp. 63 ff.

⁴ MS 4. 13. 9; VS 21. 61, 28. 23, 28. 46; TB 2. 6. 15, 3. 6. 15.

⁵ KŚS 3. 35 ff.

⁶ ApŚS 2. 16. 5; BhāṛŚS 2. 15.

THE PRAVARAS IN THE PRE-SŪTRA PERIOD

We have already seen that Chentsal Rao considered that the purpose of the pravaras was 'to show that, as a descendant of worthy ancestors, he is a fit and proper person to do the act he is performing'. Similarly, Max Müller writes. 'When therefore a Brahman has his own fire consecrated, he wishes to declare that he is as worthy as his ancestors to offer sacrifices, and he invites Agni to carry his oblations to the gods as he did for his ancestors'.¹ This is certainly the tradition of the medieval commentators,² and it is an easy and straightforward rational interpretation of the pravara-ceremony. A comparison of the parallel passages in the earlier Vedic literature, however, would seem to show that this is at best a part of the explanation, and not the most important part. It is important to remember that, whatever religious and moral concepts may be traced in the Vedic sacrifices, the actual mechanism of the sacrificial ceremonial is predominantly magical rather than religious in character. Results are normally obtained, not so much by winning the favour of the gods through prayer, as by the automatic certainty of acts which to the performers were causal. When, for example, the wrath of a deity is to be avoided, it is frequently a skilful use of word-magic which achieves this end. One verb used by the Brāhmaṇas to describe this process is *nhnuṣe*,³ usually translated as 'propitiate'. The root meaning of the word, however, 'conceal', in most cases conveys the meaning of the rite more clearly. Thus, for example, in the passage dealing with the pravaras which we have quoted above from the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, it is stated that by reciting the names from the remote end, he 'propitiates' the Lord of the Elder One. In other words, he conceals from this deity the modernity of the sacrificer, by reciting the names of ancient and venerable *ṛṣis*, starting from the oldest and most venerable.

Word-magic of this kind is so frequent and regular a feature of the sacrificial ritual that it is reasonable to look for something of the sort in the pravaras. The *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, indeed, supplies us with a clue to the interpretation: 'He recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names, thinking, "Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice"'. The essential point about the pravara, at all events in its origin, is apparently the magic power of the names recited. The line of reasoning would seem to be: 'These famous ancient seers, Bhṛgu, Cyavana, and the rest, were very powerful, they had obtained the sacrifice; therefore their names must be magically powerful towards performing a really effective sacrifice. If then we associate Agni, the sacrificial fire, with them (*Bhṛgava, Cyavana*, etc.), he, Agni, cannot fail to do his part of the sacrifice effectively. He has in fact no alternative, being compelled to it by the magic potency of the names.'

¹ *Hitt. Sansk. Lit.* p. 386.

² On the use of this verb in the Brāhmaṇas, see my article in *Siddha-Bhārat, Siddhatevar Varma Memorial Volume* (Hoshiarpur, 1950), pp. 126 ff.

³ Cf. Puruṣottama, below, p. 63.

The same considerations are fundamental in the second pravara, that recited by the Adhvaryu. The difference between the two pravaras, the *addhū* form of the Hotr's and the suffix *-at* of the Adhvaryu's, is worth noting. The essential thing is really to invite the Hotr to function. Now it is important in doing this to avoid the possible jealousy of Agni, who after all was known from of old as Hotr of the gods. Therefore, first of all the human Hotr priest invites Agni as Hotr, to avoid this jealousy. As the Śatapatha says: 'By first naming Agni he propitiates Agni', i.e. he conceals from Agni the fact that a human being is acting as Hotr. Afterwards the real invitation to the human Hotr is recited by the Adhvaryu. But even here caution must be observed. The words, in reality addressed to the human Hotr, are framed grammatically to apply to Agni, although in strict logic Agni does not act 'as Bhrgu did', but rather was used by Bhrgu in his sacrifice. Thus he is apostrophically addressed as 'Bhargava' in the first pravara. In the second pravara, on the contrary, the important thing is not that the human Hotr should be 'connected with Bhrgu', but that he should act like him. The act is itself all-important. The words emphasise that 'this present sacrificial act is precisely the same as Bhrgu performed'. And, of course, in magical thought, to say solemnly that it is identical is in fact to make it identical, and thus equally successful.

This explanation of the significance of the pravaras may perhaps appear laboured and over-elaborated, as compared with the simple and obvious traditional view that they serve merely to establish the worth or fitness of the sacrificer, as a descendant of the *ṛsis* named in the pravara. It is therefore desirable to consider parallel cases in the literature, by way of corroboration.

In the ritual of the piling of the fire-altar (*agnicayana*), mantra after mantra proclaims with tedious repetition that the acts are being done *angirastat*, 'in the manner of Angiras'.¹ Angiras is indeed a common name or epithet of Agni in the R̥gveda—Agni is also addressed as such in the mantras of the *cayana*—and it is more than probable that it was from this epithet that the important family of the Āngirasas, so closely connected in tradition with the fire-ritual, derived their name. As is natural, however, the conception of an eponymous seer, distinct from Agni, developed early, and it is this Angiras whose name, as that of a famous and successful worshipper of Agni, is here invoked as magical guarantor of the various acts of the rite.

The *Atharva-veda*, as a repository of magical formulae, contains some excellent examples of this type of usage, albeit on a more popular level of thought. Thus, for example, 2. 32. 3 (= 5. 23. 10):

*atridvā vah kṛimayo haṁsi kaṇvaśvā jamadagnirvāt;
agstiyasya brāhmaṇā sām pīṇasya aḥmā kṛimān.*

'As Attri did, I kill you, worms, as Kapva did, as Jamadagni did; with the magic rite of Agastya, I too grind the worms to powder.'

¹ ŚB 1. 5. 1. 15.

² TS 2; MS 2; VS 11, etc.

Here also it would seem that the venerable names are magically effective towards producing the desired result. Similarly, Agni is asked to burn down the senseless, truth-harming man, as Atharvan did (*atharvavāt*).¹

The use of *ṛsi*-names in this magical fashion is even more clearly seen in the numerous cases where the elliptical form in *-vat* is not employed. Thus 6. 137. 1:

*yām jamādagnir ākhanad
duhitṛe keśavārdhanīm;
tām vīṭdhavya ābharad
āsitasya ghṛbhyaḥ.*²

'The plant which Jamadagni dug to make his daughter's hair grow, Vīṭdhavya brought from the dwellings of Āsita.'

It is clearly an advantage to use the same plant as was used on that occasion, guaranteed as it is by three very notable *ṛsis*. Similarly, in AV 6. 52. 3, mention is made of a 'famous life-giving plant of Kanva'. Again, in 4. 37. 1, a magic herb is addressed:

*todyā pūrvaṁ dīharvāṇo
jaghñā rākṣāṁsy ojadhe;
todyā jaghāna kaṭyāpas
todyā kāmvo agstiyāḥ.*³

'With thee, O herb, the Atharvans of old struck down the Rakṣases; with thee Kāṣyapa struck, with thee Kanva and Agastya.'

Still more explicit is AV 1. 14. 4, where a spell to ensure the spinsterhood of an enemy is performed 'with the magic rite of Āsita, of Kāṣyapa, and of Gaya'.

So, too, we may cite AV 2. 33. 7, where a disease is conjured away by means of 'Kāṣyapa's ejector' (*kaṭyāpasya tībarhena*), 6. 40. 1: 'May we have freedom from danger by means of the oblation of the seven *ṛsis*', i.e. an oblation such as these offered (*sapta-ṛṣinām ca haṁsiśābhayam no astu*), 3. 9. 2, where a magic rite, whose nature is not clear from the context, is supported by the claim: 'Thus it was done by Manu' (*tāthā tām mānuṇā kṛtām*). With this last example should no doubt be taken RV 2. 10. 6 *tvādūtāso manuvādd vadema*: 'With thee as messenger may we speak as Manu did.'⁴

As might be expected from the sacerdotal nature of its hymns, the examples of this type of usage from the R̥gveda are more nearly related in form to the ritual pravara. Perhaps the most frequent name to be so employed is that of Angiras

¹ AV 8. 3. 21 = RV 10. 87. 12.

² For an interesting parallel compare HirGS 1. 11. 4.

³ Whitney compares A. Kuhn in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XIII, p. 118, which see for Germanic parallels.

⁴ Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 301, translates 'we should speak like men (= as men should speak: properly, something that belongs to men)'.

(*angirasvāt*), as in the Agnicayana: see for example RV 1. 62. 1; 1. 78. 3; 2. 17. 1; 3. 31. 19; 6. 49. 11. Common also is *manuśvāt*, 1. 44. 11; 4. 37. 3; 5. 21. 1; 7. 2. 3; 8. 43. 27; 10. 70. 8. The fifth book offers a number of examples of *atirivāt*, e.g. 5. 4. 9; 5. 7. 8; 5. 22. 1; 5. 51. 8-10; *jamadagnivāt*, 9. 97. 51. Cases where several names are employed may be seen in 1. 31. 17, *manuśvāt*, *angirasvāt*, *yayātivāt*, 1. 45. 3, *priyamedhavāt*, *atirivāt*, *virūpavāt*, *angirasvāt*, 7. 96. 3, *jamadagnivāt*, *vasiṣṭhavāt*; 8. 40. 12, *mandhātrevāt*, *angirasvāt* (and also *pitṛvāt* - 'as our fathers did'); 8. 43. 13, *bhṛguvāt*, *manuśvāt*, *angirasvāt*. In all these cases, the comparison with the ancients lends dignity and efficacy to the present actions.

Two noteworthy points arise out of these examples. First, the names employed in this type of formula are almost invariably names of *ṛṣis*, and in fact, *ṛṣis* who appear for the most part in the later pravaras (Yayāti, Priyamedha being exceptions from the Rgveda examples, Gaya and Atharvan from the *Atharva-veda*). Secondly, the examples quoted differ essentially from the pravaras in that they group together *ṛṣis* who in the later system were reckoned as the ancestors of distinct families. The nearest approach to the pravara type of usage is the use of *atirivāt* in the fifth book by members of the Atri-clan. Interesting is the fact that the majority of the RV instances occur in connection with Agni, and there can be no doubt that these are more nearly related to the pravaras than the Atharva-veda examples.

If, then, this type of usage is to be taken as the direct ancestor of the pravaras, the question obviously arises as to the validity of the tradition which considers the pravara-*scērs* as ancestors of the sacrificer. Karandikar, somewhat illogically, has used examples from the RV to show that at the pravara-ceremony the choice of pravara-*ṛṣis* was originally an open one. This of course really begs the question of the existence of such a ceremony at the time of the RV. To rephrase the matter from a more historical standpoint, we may say that a number of the RV examples occur in situations which are prototypes of the pravara-ceremony. Now, it is true that the 'fitness of the sacrificer as a descendant of worthy ancestors' does not appear to be a primary motive in the pravara, and therefore *a priori* the pravara-names need not have been ancestors. Nevertheless, the nature of the pravaras themselves, ordered as they are according to family, clearly vindicates the tradition. Whether or not the *ṛṣis* named really were ancestors of the various families is of no importance: a large number of them in fact must be considered as purely mythical personages. The important point is that the families in question, at the time of the Sūtras, thought of them as ancestors; and there is no sufficient evidence that the situation was otherwise in earlier times. Karandikar's lengthy discussion to show that the *ṛṣis* named in a pravara do not necessarily stand in the relationship of father, son, and grandson, is thus quite beside the point. The use of ancestral names is not to establish the lineage of the sacrificer, but arises from the extremely personal

and family nature of the sacrificial fire. In this sense, it is true, the gotras are 'ritual corporations', but only in so far as any primitive clan or family regularly tends to form a ritual group. The clearest evidence against Karandikar's theory (that at one time any Brahman could obtain entry to any gotra (the pravaras only gradually becoming stereotyped thereafter) is to be seen in the systematic arrangement of the pravaras. On Karandikar's view, it is statistically most improbable that such an ordering would have resulted. We should have found, for example, pravaras such as *Ṛṣiṣṭha*, *Bhṛgava*, *Agastya* or *Vaśiṣṭha*, *Amṛta*, *Ātreya*; whereas in fact no pravara contains more than one name from among the eponyms of the major gotras.¹

It remains to ask at what period the system of pravaras came into existence. The Brahmanas certainly prescribe a pravara, with the phrase *ārṣeyam vṛjite*; but had this been our sole evidence, it would have been simply a conjecture that the family arrangement of the pravaras existed at that time. It would have been equally open to us to assume that no more was meant by the phrase than the Rgvedic examples already quoted might imply, viz. that any *ṛṣi*-names might be recited. It is therefore of interest that side by side with these examples there are two passages in the RV which clearly show that the system was already being evolved.

The first is 8. 102. (91.) 4:

*aurvabhṛguvāc chūcim
apnavānāvāc ā hve;
agnim samudrāvāsam.*

'I summon the pure Agni, the sea-dweller, as Aurva and Bhṛgu did, as Anvava did.'

These three names occur in pravaras belonging to the Jamadagnyas in later times, and it is clear that we have here, so to speak, a pravara in embryo. It is noteworthy that in this hymn also occur several passages distinctly parallel with the formulae of the pravara ceremony. These phrases are admittedly commonplace in a large number of Rgvedic hymns to Agni, but their occurrence here can scarcely be accidental. Thus, stanza 2, *sa na ilīmayā sahā devāñ agne dux asyāvā*, *ekāc cībhānas ā taha* clearly foreshadows *devāñ yajñād vidvāmsi cīkṛvān* . . . *ā ca yajñat*. Even closer is stanza 16, *ā devāñ vakṣi yajñi ca*. Moreover, stanzas 17 and 18 specifically name the Havyavah-fire, that is, the later Ahavaniya,² which is the one in question at the pravara-ceremony. Also, the

¹ The sole exception is the family of the Lauṅgikas, whose pravara is 'Kāśyapa, Avātāra, Vāśiṣṭha'. The tradition is that this family belongs to both gotras, as the result of adoption, and there is no evidence to make us doubt the tradition. The case of the Jātukarnyas is also dubious, see e.g. p. 180. Pravaras cited in inscriptions normally agree with those of the Sūtra lists. A rare exception, such as that found in a copper-plate grant of *śama* at 1188 (*Ind. Ant.* xix, p. 252), where a certain Lahada-surman is given the astonishing pravara 'Garga, Amṛta, Vāśiṣṭha' (*śac*), Jamadagni, Vāśiṣṭha, may lead one to suspect the authenticity of the owner's claim to Brahmanhood.

² See for example TS 2. 5. 8. 6-7.

occasion of the hymn is the kindling of the fire (stanza 22); and the pravara comes immediately after the Sāmidheni verses in the ritual. The laying on of the kindling-sticks takes place with stanza 20; the butter-libation which accompanies the pravaras seems to be referred to in stanza 21. It is not, of course, suggested that the material of the pravara-ceremony is drawn from this hymn or from similar phrases elsewhere in the R̥gveda; rather, we are to see in a hymn such as this a prototype of the kindling ceremony of the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra ritual. It is in fact from hymns of this type that the later stereotyped Sāmidheni are culled, and we must recognise here an early form of the pravara incorporated within the 'Sāmidheni' hymn itself.

The other example is contained in the Khila of the RV known as the Subhesaja hymn, from the name of its traditional seer. The second stanza of this hymn reads:

*dhruvām agnir no dūtō roddāḥ havyavād
devām ā vakṣad adhvarē
vīpro dādāḥ pūrīṣkṛto
yākṣas ca yajñīyāḥ haviḥ
apnavānāvodd aurovodd
bhṛguvāj jamadagnivād...¹*

'Truly Agni is our messenger, the roaring one (?), the oblation-bearer; may he bring hither the gods to the sacrifice, he the spirited one, the messenger decked around, the wizard, the sacrificial inspired one; as Apnavāna did, as Auro did, as Bhṛgu did, as Jamadagni did.'

Here also it is noteworthy that the context shows the hymn to be used at a ceremony directly connected with the pravara ceremony. Thus we have, in the one stanza, *agnir no dūtō* (compare *agnim dūtām r̥nīmahe* in the Sāmidheni), *havyavād*, *devām ā vakṣad*. *Vīpro* and *kṛi* may be poetical variants of *vidvāms cikṛvān*, and it is not impossible that *yākṣas* is intended as a play on the word *yakṣat*.

Scheftelowitz is no doubt right in assigning this hymn to the later of the RV Khilas, but it must nevertheless be comparatively old. Its citation by the *Bṛhaddevatā*, 5. 89, the RV *Prātisāhitya* §§ 947 ff. and the *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa*, 5. 23 gives us, it is true, no very certain information about its date. More important is the fact that its material is utilised by the Yajus-texts. That the latter were the borrowers is made probable by the reading: ² *agnim* (VS *agner*) *jyotiṛ nicāyā prthivā adhy abharat*, which seems to be an attempt at improving the phrase in the first stanza of the present hymn: *agnir jyotiṛ nicāyāḥ prthivīm adhy abhara*, since the unusual form *nicāyāḥ* (visible), was no longer understood

Also, as Scheftelowitz points out,¹ its position in the RV, coming at the end of an *anuvāha* after RV 10. 131, might indicate that it belongs to a time after the RV was already redacted in its present form.² Scheftelowitz conjectures that the next word after *jamadagnivat* should be *cyavaṇat*, 'since these five *ṛis* are customarily named together'. It is worth pointing out, however, that the only references he gives are to the *pravārādhyāyas*. It seems in fact that apart from the two instances here noted there is no example forthcoming of such a grouping of names in earlier works.

In this hymn, then, we have evidence that, at a very early date, presumably when the R̥gveda was virtually complete, but while the Yajur-veda was still largely fluid, there already existed a pravara almost identical with one of the later stereotyped pravaras of the Sūtras. The difference in the order of the names, however, is probably not without significance. Making all due allowance for the metre, it is difficult to believe that if the pravara-system had already become crystallised, the names would not have been given as in the later order. We should at least have expected the first two names to be *jamadagnir* and *aurovāt*. It seems most probable that we have here a glimpse of the formative period of the pravara-system.

It is noteworthy that in both these cases the pravara belongs to the Jama-Jagnya-Bhrgus. This, together with the fact that this family is invariably placed first in the pravara-chapters of the Sūtras, would lead us to the view that it was among them that the use of the pravara in the kindling-ritual was first developed. This accords well with the fact that the Bhrgus (and with them the Angirases, who follow them in the lists) are particularly associated in the tradition with the fire-ritual.³

It seems most probable, therefore, in view of this evidence, that the use of pravaras proper — i.e. names directly connected with the sacrificer's own clan, as distinct from the freer usage of the R̥gveda, was gradually coming into use during the formative period of the Yajur-veda. There are several indications, however, that the form in which we know the system from the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts was not fully developed until some time later, possibly contemporaneous with the earlier Brāhmaṇas. The most striking point is the regular use, among the Angirases, of the pravara form *angiro-vat*, while the regular mantra form is *angiras-vat*. The latter form is still preserved in the Agnicayana, and the medieval *Pravara-manjari* remarks that it was also the form used in the Sūtra of Laugākṣi. The other Sūtras, however, unanimously give *angirovat*, and this would seem to be a conscious archaising on the part of the Laugākṣi

¹ Op. cit. p. 4.

² This is of course not conclusive for the date of composition; there is, however, no reason to suppose that it is early and the elaborate metrical structure of the hymn would indicate a late date in the RV collection.

³ See for example MS 4. 1. 8, RV 1. 58. 6; 1. 143. 4; 2. 42; 5. 11. 6; cf. also 4. 7. 1: 'Agni, whom Apnavāna and the Bhrgus caused to shine' — frequently used in the later ritual.

¹ RV Khila rv. 9. 2; Scheftelowitz, *Die Apolyphen des RV*, p. 124. The rest of the stanza is most unfortunately lost.

² TS 4. 1. 1; MS 2. 7. 1; VS 11. 11.

School. Similarly, the frequent Vedic form is *manuṣvat* (though *manu-vat* also occurs); but in the so-called *Mānava-pravara* favoured by the Tāṇḍin School,¹ the form is invariably *manu-vat*. It is interesting to note that in the formulae immediately preceding the Adhvaryu's pravara, the word *manuṣ-vat* occurs. The wording of the ceremony which forms the framework to the pravara is a composite product, and was in all probability constructed from older material. Thus, for example, the change from the vocative *agne, brāhmana, bhārata*, to the nominative of the Nivids *devadādhō manūddhah*, may indicate that these Nivids have been incorporated into the new ritual, and not composed for it. The full development of the pravaras which we see in the Sūtras need not have taken place till considerably after the standardisation of the old fire-kindling ceremony. But to account for the complexity of the system, and the remarkable agreement in essentials between Sūtras which may have been widely separated geographically, a space of several centuries must be assumed between the completion of the system and the composition of the Sūtras. It is in fact difficult to believe that such a system could have come into operation at a period when the Indo-Aryans had already spread over most of northern India, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the pravaras in the form in which we know them already existed during the R̥gvedic period proper, although they do not appear in the higher Śrauta ritual of the hymns.

On the other hand, we have the definite tradition that the pravara-names are those of composers of Vedic hymns. It is of course clear enough that this tradition cannot be literally true, since such names as Bhṛgu, Angiras, and possibly the other eponymous *r̥sis*, belong to remote legend. Nevertheless, the tradition cannot be altogether dismissed. It is true that the Anukramāṇas do not contain all the names of the pravaras; but a fair proportion do occur in both sources, and to this extent the tradition is justified. Moreover, there are several pravara-names which in the R̥gveda appear as historical personages, contemporary with some of its hymns, for example, Trasadasyu, Purukutsa, Divodāsa. The system, therefore, cannot have been finally settled until, at the earliest, the very end of the R̥gvedic period; and as far as we can tell on the available evidence, it may have been some considerable time later. On the whole it seems more likely that the two cases of R̥gvedic 'pravaras' already cited are to be taken as signs of the beginnings of the system, rather than of the emergence in the literature of a system which was already complete.

It is reasonable, then, to hold that the pravara-system was evolved not later than the earlier Brāhmana period, and that its beginnings very probably go back to the R̥gveda, but if so, only to the time of its latest hymns.

Two further passages from the Atharva-veda may be cited to show that the system was already well advanced in its development at the time of its compilation. First, AV 18. 3. 15-16, in the middle of a funeral hymn, invokes the

¹ See below, pp. 74 and 201.

aid of Kanva, Kakṣivant, Purumidha, Agastya, Śyavaśva, Sobhari, Arcanānas, Viśvamitra, Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vāmadeva, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja and Gotama. It is clear that these are called upon as the ancestors and guardians of the tribe, and it can scarcely be accidental that all of these names (except Sobhari and Purumidha) are either the eponyms of the later gotras and their subdivisions, or else pravara-names associated with these eponymous *r̥sis*. A more extended list is given at AV 4. 29, where stanzas 3-6 call on Mitra and Varuna in the formula: 'Ye who help X, free us from distress.' The names are:

Stanza 3. Angiras, Agastī, Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha.

Stanza 4. Śyāśva, Vadhryāśva, (Purumidha), Atri, (Vimada, Saptavadhri).

Stanza 5. Bharadvāja, Gaviṣṭhira, Viśvamitra, Kutsa, Kakṣivant, Kanva.

Stanza 6. (Medhātithi, Trīśoka), Uśanas Kāya, Gotama, Mudgala.

Here the names bracketed have no place in the later system, but the very considerable preponderance of names which do occur in the pravara-lists makes it highly probable, taking into account the R̥gvedic evidence already cited, that the enumeration is intended to summarise the whole collection of contemporary clans, by reference to their eponymous *r̥sis*.

The word *gotra* itself appears several times in the R̥gveda, but not in the sense of a clan or family. In all the occurrences it bears the etymological sense of 'cattle-stall' or some related meaning.¹ It remains uncertain whether *gotra* in the sense of 'clan' is derived from this word, through some such meaning as 'herd', or whether it was originally a distinct word. At all events, no satisfactory linguistic evidence has been adduced to show the word itself to belong to the Indo-European period. The only occurrence of the word in a hymn would seem to be AV 5. 21. 3, where the war-drum is addressed as *viśvāgotryah*, 'belonging to all the gotras'. Thus it would seem that at least by the end of the Mantra-period, the word *gotra* was coming to be applied to clans.

By the Brāhmana period, the use of the word *gotra* had become reasonably frequent in the sense of 'clan'. Particularly interesting is MS 3. 8. 9, where, at the setting up of the sacrificial shed (*sadāś*) during the Soma ritual, the roof of the shed is laid in place with the words *viśvājanasya chāyāśi* 'thou art the shade (protection) of all men'. The explanation is then added—*gotrād-gotrād dhi prasārpanti*. This has been taken to mean that the various gotras had different ritual usages.² There are indeed numerous cases where family differences were observed in the ritual; but the inference here seems to be unfounded. The natural interpretation is that the phrase is an explanation of 'all men' in the mantra—'for from every

¹ In the Khila-hymn after RV 10. 128 the correct reading is *gotrēṣu*, 'cowherds', although *gotreṣu* is accepted by Whitney. AV trans. xix. 62. The parallel passages show clearly that the reference is to *Vasiṣṭha*, see AV xix. 62; TS 5. 7. 4. 6; MS 3. 4. 8; Scharfelowitz, *Apokryphen der RV*, p. 118.

² See P. V. Kane, *Proceedings of the Oriental Congress at Baroda* (1933), pp. 317f.; Fick in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. *gotra*.

gotra they come forward'. The *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa* (18. 2. 12) prescribes a cup of *udumbara* wood as a sacrificial fee for a man belonging to one's own gotra (*sagotra*); and the *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa* (25. 15) mentions a *sagotra* as one of the persons with whom a man may dwell after performing the *Viśvajit* sacrifice.

I have already discussed in an article in *JRAS* (1946), pp. 32ff.; (1947), pp. 76ff., the important question of the relation of the gotras to the so-called 'hymn-families' of the *Ṛgveda*; to which article the reader is accordingly referred.

THE SYSTEM IN THE SŪTRA PERIOD

In addition to various incidental references to differences in sacrificial practice among the gotras, the ritual Sūtras have preserved among their appendices classified lists of Brahmanical families, which in fact form our chief source of information about the organisation of the clan-exogamous system. There is, however, little doubt that these lists were compiled originally for the guidance of the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu priests, to enable them to recite the correct *pravara* in the course of the ritual, according to the family of the sacrificer. This origin is reflected in the fact that they are constantly referred to, in the manuscript colophons and elsewhere, as 'pravara-chapters' (*pravarakhaṇḍa*, *pravarādhyāya*, *pravara-praśna*) in contrast to the medieval tracts on the subject, which regularly bear titles such as *Gotrapravacanirṇaya* or simply *Gotra-nirṇaya*. It is therefore not surprising that there is no trace of such lists among the Sūtras of the Sāma-veda or the Atharva-veda.

Of the two Śrauta Sūtras of the *Ṛgveda*, we possess a *pravarādhyāya* only for that of Āśvalāyana. It is indeed highly probable, from the complete lack of references in the commentators and legal writers, that the Śāṅkhayana School never possessed one.¹ The Āśvalāyana *pravarādhyāya* gives only an outline account of the system, naming only the chief subdivisions of the gotras (*gaṇas*), in most cases only the one family to a *pravara*. It is interesting to note that it proclaims its origin in a school of Hotṛ priests by giving throughout only the Hotṛ's *pravara*, whereas the Sūtras of the Yajur-veda regularly give the forms for both priests, for example, *āṅgrasa bārhaspatya bhāradvājēti hotā bharadvāja-
javad bṛhaspatiṇā angīroṇā ity adhvaryubh.*

Among the texts attached to the Yajur-veda, the *pravarādhyāya* of the Āpastamba School is very similar in structure to that of the Āśvalāyana. There

¹ Devaṇṭa-bhaṭṭa, it is true, in his *Dattaka-śmṛiti*, ii. 36, quotes a passage with reference to the inheritance of 'men of two gotras' (*dyōtīmuyāyāṇa*), which he ascribes to the *Śāṅkhayana-pravarādhyāya*; and later, iii. 9, quotes from a *pravarādhyāya* (with no name given) the same passage, with the addition of a few sentences at the beginning. The whole passage, however, occurs in the closing section of the *pravarādhyāyas* traditionally ascribed to Kātyāyana and Lauṅgaki, as well as in the India Office manuscript of the *Mānava-pravarādhyāya*. It seems very probable therefore that the ascription to Śāṅkhayana is merely a mistake, possibly a manuscript error. In the same connection, the *Yyavalkya-mayūkha*, iv. 5. 24, quotes approximately the same passage and ascribes it to Kātyāyana. See below, p. 213.

is, however, no reason for supposing a specially close connection between the two, as Garbe seems to have thought.¹ But there is a most striking agreement between all the texts in the ordering of the major gotras and the *gaṇas* within them. Thus, for example, in all the texts (except the *Vaikhāṇasa*) the Bhṛgu comes first, followed by the three divisions of the Angrīśas. Gautamas, Bharadvājas and Kevala Angrīśas. Such variations as occur are not sufficient to support a theory that they are independent accounts, simply agreeing in so far as they reflect the social facts. It seems that the only possible explanation is that they are all descended from the same common original. This original may admittedly be one of the accounts preserved to us, but there is no clear trace of this in the texts, and on the whole it seems unlikely.

The Hiraṇyakeśi (*Satyasādha*) Śrauta Sūtra, as might be expected, gives a *pravarādhyāya* almost identical with that of Āpastamba. In a few cases, it gives some additional names, and occasionally shows a slightly different order in the *gaṇas*. As it appears in the edition (*Anandaśrama Sanskrit Series*, no. 53, viii, pp. 714ff.), it has suffered several lacunae, notably in the introductory section and the account of the *Viśvamitras*, and in the complete omission of the Kevala Angrīśas. These, however, are presumably recent losses. Kamalakara-bhaṭṭa, in his *Pravara-darpaṇa*, conscientiously notes the additions to Āpastamba, and the *Pravara-mañjarī*, though giving Āpastamba's version throughout, attributes the introductory section to Āpastamba and Satyāsādha. Elsewhere, the *Pravara-mañjarī* regularly refers to *Āpastambādī*, a form of expression which may be taken to imply the inclusion of the Hiraṇyakeśi version.

The Baudhāyana account is much more detailed. For almost every *gaṇa*, or subdivision of the major gotras, it gives a long list of subfamilies who are all united as reciting the same *pravara*. Similar in structure is the account which Puruṣottama in the *Pravara-mañjarī* attributes to Kātyāyana and Lauṅgaki. In this account, however, while the major gotras and *gaṇas* agree for the most part, the individual subfamilies diverge widely from Baudhāyana. Another version of this list appears in the India Office manuscript of the *Mānava* account, together with the Bodleian White Yajur-veda *Pravara-pariśiṣṭa*.² The version preserved in the *Pravara-mañjarī* is the one which had earlier been utilised by the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

Finally, mention should be made of the *Vaikhāṇasa* list.³ This is beyond all question particularly closely related to the Baudhāyana, and in all probability is directly copied from it. Like Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana, it does not give the extensive lists of subfamilies which appear in Baudhāyana; and the order of

¹ Introduction to vol. III of his edition of the *Āpast. Śrauta-sūtra*, p. xxvii.

² For a discussion of the interrelation and attribution of these texts, see below, pp. 49-50.

³ India Office MSS. Keith 4684, 4685. See also K. Rangachari, *Vaikhāṇasa Dharma Sūtra* (Madras, 1930).

the major gotras has been rearranged to agree with the order given in Baudhayana's verse:

*viśvāmītro jamadagnir bharadvājō 'tha gautamā
atrir vasiṣṭhaḥ kāśyapa ity ete sapta ṛṣayah;*

the Kevala Angrases being given after the Bharadvājas, and the Agastyas at the end. The most obvious sign of its relationship with Baudhāyana is in the major gotra of the Gautamas, in which Baudhāyana diverges rather widely in the gana-names from the other lists: in this divergence it is perfectly copied by the Vaikhanasa. The sole point of interest in this otherwise derivative account is a seven-*ṛṣi* pravara, attributed to the Bhārgava-Jamadagni—*Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Jamadagnya, Vātsa, Āpnavana, Atri, Vaidala* (the last name being a mistake for Baidā?). This is of course directly contrary to the regular Sūtra rule, which prohibits more than five *ṛṣi*-names, although it is said that seven- and even eleven-*ṛṣi* pravaras are found in south India at the present day.¹

In all these texts, the most outstanding facts are, first, the close agreement of the major gotras and the gaṇas contained in these, and secondly, the wide divergence between the Baudhāyana list on the one hand and the remaining detailed accounts on the other, in the individual subfamilies within the gaṇas. This divergence, it is true, is rather over-emphasised by the corrupt state of the textual transmission. Nevertheless, although a large number of the names can be shown to be shared by these lists, there is no correspondence whatever between them in the order in which they occur, and they must be considered to be independent descriptions of a similar social context. What seems to have taken place is that at some early date, conceivably in the Brāhmana period, a list of gotras and pravaras was prepared, more or less of the type of the Āśvalayana list, that is, a skeleton account merely of the major gotras, the chief gaṇas, and the pravaras of each gana. This list would no doubt be subject to slight modifications as the social structure altered in different ways in different parts of the country. From the slightly greater divergence of the Baudhāyana gana-names, it is natural to suppose that the Baudhāyana School was geographically separated rather widely from the others. If this is so, it would be easily comprehensible that, when the fuller lists came to be composed, the authors simply gave a description of the composition of the gaṇas as seen in the society around them. In such a case, there would necessarily be a considerable number of subfamilies shared by the two localities; and the divergences between the Baudhāyana list and that represented by the 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi' list would simply mirror regional differences in the development of the families themselves.

¹ Rangachari, op. cit. p. xxi.

THE APPLICATION OF THE PRAVARA-RULE

At the beginning of the Baudhāyana *pravarādhya*, the rule is enunciated:

*eka etā ṛṣir yāvat pravareṣu anuvartate, tāvat samānagotratoam anyatra
bhṛgugangirasmā gaṇāt.*

'If even one *ṛṣi* recurs in the pravaras, that constitutes sameness of gotra, except in the case of a gana of the Bhṛgu and Angrases.'

In the case of these two, as is explained immediately before in the text, a majority of *ṛṣi*-names must be identical to prohibit intermarriage. It is clear that the composition of the gotras is not homogeneous. The traditional view as given by Baudhāyana is that the gotras are to be classified according to the eponymous *ṛṣi*—the seven *ṛṣis*, that is, 'Jamadagni, Gautama, Bhāradvāja, Atri, Viśvāmītra, Kāśyapa and Vasiṣṭha', with the additional gotra of Agastya.¹ On the other hand, the pravaras are classified under the names of Bhṛgu, Angras, Atri, Viśvāmītra, Kāśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Agastya, the Jamadagnis coming under the Bhṛgu, and both the Gautamas and Bhāradvājas under the Angrases. In general, however, the various gaṇas of the Jamadagnis all have three out of the five names of their pravaras in common: 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, and Āpnavana'; while the Gautamas, with 'Āngirasa, Gautama, etc.', and the Bharadvājas, with 'Āngirasa, Barhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, etc.', in their pravaras, also form exogamous units. Thus, in spite of the pravaras being grouped under Bhṛgu and Angras, the exogamous groups resulting from the pravara-rule are those of Jamadagni, Gautama, and Bhāradvāja. In addition to these, however, the Bhṛgu and Angras groups include a number of additional gaṇas, who are regularly referred to in the medieval works as Kevala Bhṛgu and Kevala Angrases. The meaning of this epithet is not altogether obvious, but it probably means that these are *merely* Bhṛgu (and not also Jamadagni) and *merely* Angrases (and not also Gautamas or Bharadvājas). These do not have the necessary majority of *ṛṣi*-names in their pravara; the only common name in the pravaras being Bhārgava and Āngirasa, respectively. Thus, each of these individual gaṇas forms an exogamous unit by itself. The Kevala Bhṛgu are the Yaskas, Śunakas, Mitrāyus, and Vainyas; the Kevala Angrases are the Śampkṛts, Haritas, Kanvas, Rathitars, Mudgalas and Viśnuvṛddhas. The Baudhāyana list reinforces its general pravara-rule by adding at the end of the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvājas and each of the later gotras a specific prohibition of marriage within the gotra. In the case of the Kevala families, however, the mere omission of such a prohibition is the only indication that the gaṇas may intermarry. The other detailed accounts simply add at the end of each gana 'these have no intermarriage'. It would

¹ In this connection it is interesting to note that the Jainmīṣya Brāhmana (Caland, § 145) remarks that the descendants of Agastī are outside the Kuru Pañcālas. This passage gives the list (not, it is true, explicitly in connection with the gotras) as: 'Vasiṣṭha, Bhāradvāja, Jamadagni, Gotama, Atri, Viśvāmītra, and Agastya'—thus omitting Kāśyapa.

therefore be logically possible to deduce that these texts did not in fact prohibit marriage between the *ganas* of the same major gotra; but there is absolutely no indication that such a usage ever existed. Counting each of the Kevala *ganas* as exogamous units, there are therefore eighteen such units in all.¹

TABLES OF PRAVARAS ACCORDING TO THE SŪTRAS

The accounts of the Sūtras are given in full in the second part of the present work; but it may be useful to give here a tabular view of the major gotras and their subdivisions. In the following tables, the Roman figures denote the exogamous units, the Arabic figures the *ganas* into which these units are divided. The second column gives the names of the *ganas*, the fourth column the *pravaras*. The third column indicates which of the Sūtras give the variants, where such occur. Where all the accounts agree, or where the variants are of no significance, the third column is left blank. The abbreviations used are:

B	Baudhāyana.
Āp	Āpastamba.
Āśv	Āśvalāyana.
K	'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi'.
Mān.	Mānava.
W	Bodhicān 'White Yajur-veda parīṣiṣṭa'.
V	Vaiśāṇasa.
M	Matsya Purāṇa. ²

Brackets in this column denote that the source in question gives the *pravara* as an alternative.

¹ These eighteen groups are a commonplace of the medieval writers, and it is therefore somewhat surprising to find Chentāl Rao (*Gotra and Pravara*, p. xvii) claiming credit for the idea. It should be added that the position of the Kapis is doubtful; according to their *pravara* they should probably be reckoned with the Kevala Angirases, thus making nineteen exogamous groups in all; but the medieval writers all give them as a *gana* of the Bhāradvājas, using the elastic method of assuming that the name 'Bhāradvāja' is 'implicitly' present (*śattayāmanā*) in their *pravara*, cf. Brough, *BSOS* xi, p. 308. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Mānava text starts a new chapter with the Kapis; the Baudh. MSS. are divided, Be, U giving them among the Bhāradvājas, and a second time among the Kevalas; all the others among the Kevalas alone. In the other detailed accounts the family comes between the two groups, and it remains uncertain to which group the authors meant to assign them.

² For a fuller account of these, see below, pp. 44 ff.

I. *Bhṛgu* (Jamadagnis)

1.	Vatasa Jāmadagnya- Vatasa	{ B Āp, Āśv, K, Mān., M (Āp)	{ Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya
2a.	Vatasa who are non-Jāmadagnis Vātsya	{ Āśv. K	{ Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna
2.	Bida Bhārgava- Jāmadagnis	{ B, Āśv, V V (V)	{ Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Baida Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Baida (MSS. Vaidala) Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Jāmadagnya, Vātsa, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Vaidala ¹ Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya (cf. no. 1) Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna ²
	Jāmadagni-Bida	K	
	Jāmadagnis	M, Mān.	
3.	Ārṣiṇepa	(Āp)	Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣiṇepa, Āndpa ³ Bhārgava, Ārṣiṇepa, Āndpa
4.	Vaids-nimathita	Mān.	Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Vaids, Naimathita
5.	Āvadhyaṇa- Maujāyana	Mān.	Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āvadhya
6.	Vatasa-purodhasa	Mān., W	Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Vātsa, Purodhasa
7.	Veda-viśvajyoti	Mān., W	Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Veda, Viśvajyoti

¹ Probably the Vatasas and Bidas are here conflated.

² This *pravara*, though attached to the Bidas in these sources, presumably belongs to no. 1a.

³ The Vaiśāṇasa, according to Rangachari, op. cit. p. xxx, has Andra, Ārṣiṇepa for the last two names here; India Office MS. Keith 484 has *drāṣṭipana*, and *drāṣṭipana*, *dravat*. It seems likely that they are all corruptions of the normal *pravara*.

INTRODUCTION

Kevala Bhrgus

II.	Yakas		Bhārgava, Vastahavya, Śāvetasa (Śāvedhasa)
III.	Mitrāyus (Vādhryāsava)	B, K, Mān., W, M, V (Āśv) Āp, Āśv, V	Bhārgava, Vādhryāsava, Daivodāsa Bhārgava, Daivodāsa, Vādhryāsava Vādhryāsava
IV.	Vainyas (Śyaitas)	B, Āp, V, Mān., W Āśv	Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha
V.	Śunakas (Gṛtsamadas)	B, V Āp, K, Mān., Āśv (B, V)¹ (K, Mān.) M (W, Āśv)	Śaunaka Gṛtsamada Bhārgava, Gṛtsamada Bhārgava, Śaunahotra, Gṛtsamada

¹ V gives two separate families, Śunakas, with the pravara Śaunaka, and Gṛtsamadas, with the pravara Gṛtsamada.

The Baudhāyana account (with the Vakhanasa) diverges rather widely from the others in its treatment of the Gautamas, and it is convenient to give two separate tables:

VI. Gautamas (Baudh. and Vaikh.)

1.	Āyśeyas Āngirasa-Gautamas	B V	Āngirasa, Āyśeya, Gautama
2.	Śāradvatya		Āngirasa, Gautama, Śāradvata
3.	Kaumaṇḍas		Āngirasa, Aucathya, Kākṣivata, Gautama, Kaumaṇḍa
4.	Dairghatamasas		Āngirasa, Aucathya, Kākṣivata, Gautama, Dairghatamasas
5.	Auśanasa		Āngirasa, Gautama, Auśanasa
6.	Kāreṇupālīs		Āngirasa, Gautama, Kāreṇupālī
7.	Vāmadevas		Āngirasa, Gautama, Vāmadeva

TABLES OF PRAVARAS

VI. Gautamas (remaining Sūtras)

1.	Āyśeyas Gautamas	Āp, K, Mān., W Āśv	Āngirasa, Āyśeya, Gautama
2.	Aucathyas	Āp, K, Mān W, Āśv, M	Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama Āngirasa, Aucathya, Auśija
3.	Auśiyas	Āp	Āngirasa, Auśija, Kākṣivata
4.	Bhāradukthas	Āp, Āśv	Āngirasa, Bhāraduktha, Gautama
5.	Vāmadevas	Āp Āśv, Mān., W K, M¹	Āngirasa, Vāmadeva, Bhāraduktha Āngirasa, Vāmadeva, Gautama Āngirasa, Bhāraduktha, Vāmadeva
6.	Dairghatamasas	K, Āśv	Āngirasa, Aucathya, Dairghatamasas
7.	Āyśeya-Auśija- Gautamas	K	Āngirasa, Āyśeya, Auśija, Gautama, Kākṣivata
8.	Rāhuganyas	Āśv	Āngirasa, Rāhuganya, Gautama
9.	Sumarājakis	Āśv	Āngirasa, Sumarājya, Gautama
10.	Kākṣivants	Āśv, Mān., W	Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama, Auśija, Kākṣivata

¹ K, M, Mān. and W give this family among the Kevala Āngirases.

VII. Bhāradvājas

1.	Bhāradvājas		Āngirasa, Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja
2.	Raukṣayāpas	B, V	Āngirasa, Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja, Vandana, Mātavacasa
	Rkṣas	Āp, K, Mān., W, M (Āp)	Āngirasa, Vāndana, Mātavacasa
3.	Gargya	B, K, Mān., W, M Āśv	Āngirasa, Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja, Śainya, Gārgya Āngirasa, Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Śainya Āngirasa, Śainya, Gārgya
		V (B, Āśv, K, Mān., W, M)¹ Āp (Āp)	Āngirasa, Gārgya, Śainya Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Śainya
4.	Kapis²	Āp, B, K, Mān., W, M, Āśv	Āngirasa, Āmabhyāya, Aurukṣya
5.	Śunga-Śaśira³	Āp, Āśv, W K, Mān., M	Āngirasa, Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja, Kātya, Ākṣi Āngirasa, Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja, Śaungas Śaśira

¹ K, Mān., W, M give the three-*m* alternative to a distinct set of subfamilies, whose medieval designation was Gargabhedhā, i.e. separate Gārgyas

² The Kapis are included here by the medieval writers, but are probably, on the Sūtra evidence, to be reckoned as a gana of the Kevala Āngirases

³ These, as being *dhūgotras*, avoid in marriage the Vyāśmitras, as well as the Bhāradvājas

INTRODUCTION

Kevāla Angirases

VIII.	Haritas	(Āp, Āśv, K)	Āngirasa, Āmbarṣa, Yauvanāśva
	Kutsas ¹	Āp	Mādhātṛa, Āmbarṣa, Yauvanāśva
IX.	Kapvas	(Āśv)	Āngirasa, Ājamīdha, Kāpva
			Āngirasa, Gbaura, Kāpva
X.	Rathitara ²	B, M, V (B) Āp, Mān (Āp)	Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Rathitara
			Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Parsadaśva
XI.	Viṣṇuvṛddhas	B, Āp, Mān, Āśv, V	Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadaśva
XII.	Mudgalas	(Āp, Āśv)	Āngirasa, Bhārmavasa, Maudgalva
			Tarkṣa, Bhārmavasa, Maudgalva
XIII.	Sāṃkrtyas	B, K, Mān, W, M, V Āśv (Āśv)	Āngirasa, Sāṃkrtya, Gaurivita
			Āngirasa, Gaurivita, Sāṃkrtya

¹ All the sources except Āp include the Kutsas among the Haritas.

² The pravara of the Rathitara and Viṣṇuvṛddhas have become confused in W, K, M; see below, pp. 128, 133.

XIV. Atris

1.	Atris		Ātreya, Ārcanāśva, Śyavāśva
2.	Vādibhutas	B, V	Ātreya, Ārcanāśva, Vādibhuta
3.	Gaviṣṭhira	B, Āp, V K, Mān., M	Ātreya, Ārcanāśva, Gaviṣṭhira
			Ātreya, Gaviṣṭhira, Paurvātitha
3a.	Mudgalas (?) Purvātitha Atitha	B V Āp	Ātreya, Ārcanāśva, Paurvātitha
			Ātreya, Ārcanāśva, Atitha
4.	Putrikā-putras	K, M, W Mān.	Ātreya, Vāmaratya, Putrika
			Ātreya [Gaviṣṭhira], Putrika

TABLES OF PRAVARAS

XV. Viśvāmītras

1.	Viśvāmītras (Kutikas)		Viśvāmītra, Daivārta, Audala
2.	Śrautata- Kāṣṭhāyana		Viśvāmītra, Daivārta, Daivataras
3.	Katas		Viśvāmītra, Kātya, Ākṣa
4.	Dhanamjaya	B, Āp, Āśv, K M, W, Mān. (W)	Viśvāmītra, Mādhuccandasa, Dhānamjaya Viśvāmītra, Mādhuccandasa, Āghamarapa ¹ Viśvāmītra, Kaudika, Āghamarapa ¹
5.	Aghamarapa- Kauṣika	B, Āp, Āśv, V, K	Viśvāmītra, Āghamarapa, Kauṣika
6.	Purāṇa-Vāri- dhāpantasa	Āśv Rest	Viśvāmītra, Daivārta, Paurāṇa Viśvāmītra, Paurāṇa
7.	Ajas		Viśvāmītra, Mādhuccandasa, Ājva
8.	Āṣṭaka-Lohita	B, V K, M Mān., W, Āp Āśv	Viśvāmītra, Āṣṭaka, Lauhita Viśvāmītra, Lauhita, Āṣṭaka Viśvāmītra, Āṣṭaka Viśvāmītra, Mādhuccandasa, Āṣṭaka
9.	Rauksakas Reyas (Raipava)	B, V Rest	Viśvāmītra, Rauksaka, Raipava Viśvāmītra, Gāthina, Raipava
9a.	[Corrupt]	W Mān	Viśvāmītra, Kāthaka, Kāthaka ² Viśvāmītra, Kāthaka, Kāthaka ²
10.	Āsmaratya	K, M Mān., W	Viśvāmītra, Āsmaratya, Vādhula
11.	Indrasaukas	B, V	Viśvāmītra, Andra, Kauska
12.	Rauhiga	Āśv	Viśvāmītra, Mādhuccandasa, Rauhiga
13.	Śāṅkāvāna	Āśv	Viśvāmītra, Śāṅkāvāna, Kauska
14.	Hiravaretasa	Mān, W	Viśvāmītra, Hiravaretasa ³
15.	Suvararetasa	Mān, W	Viśvāmītra, Suvararetasa
16.	Kapotaretasa	Mān, W	Viśvāmītra, Kapotaretasa
17.	Ghṛta-kauska	Mān, W	Viśvāmītra, Ghṛtakauska
18.	Sāhula-Māhula	Mān, W	Viśvāmītra, Sāhula, Māhula
19.	Sāthara-Māthara	Mān	Viśvāmītra, Sāthara, Māthara

¹ These have probably arisen through a lacuna in the text.

² These pravara are, however, given by Mān, W, to the same set of subfamilies as are called Raipava by K, etc.

³ In nos. 14, 17, Mān continues to obtain a three-pr pravara by separating the compound name, e.g. (in the Adhvaryu's pravara) *retasavādhiravayavā viśvāmītravānā*.

XVI. *Kaīyapa*

1.	Nidhrupa- Kaīyapa		Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhrupa
1a.	Kaīyapa	Āśv	Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita
2.	Rebhas		Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha
3.	Śāpḍila	B, V (B, V) ¹ (B, V) Āśv (B, K, Mān., W, V) (V) Āp (Āp) M, K, Mān. (Āśv, V)	Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Śāpḍila Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Daivala Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita Śāpḍila, Āsita, Daivala Śāpḍila, Āvatsāra, Kāyapa Daivala, Āsita Kāyapa, Daivala, Āsita Kāyapa, Āsita, Daivala
4.	Laugākṣa (Laugākṣa) ²	B, K, Mān., M, V (B) W	Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Vāsiṭha Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Śārasamba
5.	Sāṅkhamitras ³	W	Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Sāṅkhamitras

¹ V strangely inverts the order of this as well as of the following alternative. Moreover, this source alone (but almost certainly as the result of scribal emendation) gives only the pravara

*Kāyapa, Āvatsāra, Śāpḍila' to the Śāpḍilas, attributing all the others to the Devalas.

² As *dogotras*, these avoid marriage with the Vāsiṭhas also.

³ Included with the Rebhas by K, M.

XVII. *Vasiṭha*

1.	Vasiṭha		Vasiṭha
2.	Kuṇḍina		Vasiṭha, Maitrivarupa, Kaurḍinya
3.	Upamanyus	B V K, Mān., W, Āśv, M	Vasiṭha, Aindrapramada, Ābharadvasavya ¹ Vasiṭha, Aindrapramada, Aupamanyava ² Vasiṭha, Ābharadvasavya, Aindrapramada
4.	Parāśara ³		Vasiṭha, Śākya, Pārāśara
5.	Jātākaryas	K, M W	Vasiṭha, Ātri (?), Jātākaryas Vasiṭha, Ārtabodha, Pāṭava
6.	Sarpkrī- Pūrimāsas ⁴	Āp	Śākya, Sarpkrīyas, Gaurivita
7.	Lohinvas	W	Vasiṭha, Lohinya, Phalgunya

¹ Āp gives this pravara as an alternative to the Vasiṭhas, and has no mention of the Upamanyus.

² MS. *ropamanyava*; but the appearance of the name at all is probably itself a corruption.

³ The Parāśaras present one of the most tantalising problems connected with the pravara-lists. The thirty subdivisions of the family are divided into six groups of five names, and each group is designated by a colour, e.g. Nila-Parāśaras, Kṛṣṇa-Parāśaras. The surprising fact, however, is that while the names within the groups agree in the various accounts, there is no semblance of agreement in the group designations. Thus, the group called Kṛṣṇa by Baudhāyana appears as Vṛṇa in K & L... as Nila in Mān., and as Gaura in the Matsya Purāṇa. The commentators pass over this extraordinary situation in silence, and the whole matter remains mysterious. It is worth pointing out that the Parāśaras are the only family for which the Baudhāyana list corresponds really closely with the others, and that the text in this family alone is composed throughout of quasi-*śloka* (admittedly there are a few traces of a metrical original elsewhere in the lists, e.g. the beginning of the Ātri list in K. & L., etc.)

⁴ See the other Sūtras among the Kevala Angirases.

XVIII. *Agastya*

1.	Idhmavāhas	B (Āp), K, Mān., W, V, Āśv ¹ Āp	Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Aidhmavāha
2.	[Sāmbhavāhas]	B, V	Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Sāmbhavāha
3.	Somavāhas	B, Āśv, ² V	Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Saumavāha
4.	Yajñavāhas	B, V	Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Yajñavāha
5.	Agastis	K, W, M	Āgastya, Mahendra, Māyobhuva
6.	Paurṇamāsas	K, M	Āgastya, Paurṇamāsa, Pārasa
7.	Himodakas ³	Mān., W	Āgastya, Haimavarci, Haimodaka

¹ Āśv gives both pravaras 1 and 3 simply as alternatives for the Agastis.

² For these, and several other late families peculiar to Mān. and W, see below, pp. 191-2. The text of all these additional families presents a most barbaric aspect, and, if it is not hopelessly corrupt, may be taken to reflect the non-indigenous nature of the Āgastya-gotra.

THE GOTRA-PRAVARA-MĀṆJĀRI AND OTHER MEDIEVAL SOURCES

Of the numerous extant medieval Sanskrit works on the gotra and pravara system, the *Gotra-pravara-mānjari* is undoubtedly the most important. Not only is it the earliest of the nibandha-treatises on the subject, but it is also the most extensive, and gives a much clearer picture of the system than most of the others. Later writers quote it frequently, and its opinions are usually held by them to be authoritative. From our point of view, however, its chief interest lies in the ancient accounts which it quotes, one of which (that of 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi') is in fact not preserved in any independent source.

The present work may be said to serve a twofold purpose. In the first place, the translation of Puruṣottama's own discussion of the gotra-system presents a clear, if somewhat prolix, account of how it appeared to a medieval Hindu scholar. The translation follows in the main the text of the edition by P. Chentsal Rao, but a few points have been corrected on the evidence of the two manuscripts of the work belonging to the India Office Library.

The most important part of the work, however, lies in the pravara-lists quoted by Puruṣottama. For these lists it would have been quite profitless to reproduce the uncritical text of Chentsal Rao's edition, and I have therefore thought it preferable, in view of the uncertainties in the text, to collate such material as was available to me, with a view to restoring the lists as far as possible, and to this end I have added a full apparatus criticus. At the risk of somewhat overloading this with quite useless copyists' errors, I have thought it best to include numerous variants and blunders which might serve as a guide in tracing the affinities of any other accounts of the lists which might come to hand in the future. The plan here adopted, of giving the lists in their Sanskrit forms, while the rest of the text and the comment is translated, is doubtless a little incongruous, but since the form of the names, singular or plural, is of some importance, it was necessary to give them in the original forms; while, in the present state of Sanskrit studies, the labour spent on preparing an edition of Puruṣottama's own comments would have been quite out of proportion to the results achieved, since the text is already available in Chentsal Rao's edition. The prime object of the present work is, after all, to make available such material as is at present to be obtained for the study of the Brahmanical gotra-system in early times, and for this purpose, the *Pravara-mānjari* offers a very suitable framework for the presentation of that material. Therefore, it seemed the most profitable course to give the lists here in the Sanskrit forms, thus giving, as it were, a first approximation to a restoration of the text, for the use of scholars who may in the future undertake the study of the Sūtra lists; while the remainder of the work will, it is hoped, provide a translation of some use to those who may wish

to investigate the main facts of the gotra organisation from the point of view of social history.

The *Pravara-mānjari* quotes in full five different accounts, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, 'Kātyāyana-Laugākṣi', Āśvalāyana, and the Matsya Purāṇa. Of these, the first, second and fourth have been preserved in the manuscripts of their respective Sūtras, and have all been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Apart from points of quite minor importance, the text of the Āśvalāyana and Āpastamba accounts presents little that is doubtful, and these lists, which, compared with the other three, are mere skeletons, are given here simply for the sake of completeness and for ease of reference. The other three are admittedly approximately as well preserved as far as the main groups and pravaras are concerned, but giving as they do extensive lists of subfamilies within most of the groups, they have been much more exposed to copyists' errors, and have come down to us in an almost incredible state of corruption. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that they are ancillary works of Vedic schools, and, from the social point of view, of considerable importance for the regulation of the exogamous restrictions. In view of the peculiar nature of the texts, consisting as they do almost entirely of lists of family names, the task of preparing an edition is one of unusual complexity, and it must be admitted at the outset that the text here presented is still far from being a definitive edition of the lists. It is, rather, a preliminary critical survey of the material—a survey, however, which has made it possible to get rid of a very large number of manuscript errors, and which will, it is hoped, very considerably lighten the task of any future editor of these lists, should fresh material become available. Not the least important result of the present study of the lists is that a comparison of the different accounts has shown a much closer affinity between them than one would have suspected on a casual perusal. Caland, for example, remarked¹ that the list attributed by Puruṣottama to Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi was not the same as that given by Weber among the *pariśiṣṭas* of the White Yajur-veda; but that the latter agreed closely with the Manava text. The statement is in fact true, so far as it goes, but Caland does not seem to have noted how closely Puruṣottama's list actually does agree with the other two. Far more important, however, is the fact that the percentage of correspondence between Baudhāyana's list and the others is now seen to be considerably higher than the readings, say, of Chentsal Rao's edition of the *Pravara-mānjari* would have indicated.

A great quantity of the material which can be applied towards a critical reconstruction of these lists has been preserved in various medieval treatises on the subject of gotra, and it will be convenient to consider these first. Among them, the *Gotra-pravara-mānjari* of Puruṣottama-paṇḍita here translated is unique in several respects. It alone undertakes to quote verbatim the pravara

¹ Baudh, *Srauta Sūtra*, III, p. ix.

sections of the Sūtra texts, while the later nibandhas merely quote the bare lists of names, often without referring them to their Sūtra origin. Moreover, a comparison with the other nibandha-accounts has shown conclusively that these are all directly or indirectly dependent on Puruṣottama's work. The collation of the others was undertaken in the first place in the hope that they would supply independent traditions which might prove useful in reconstructing the Sūtra texts. But although they have been found to possess no such independent value, yet the later works are still of considerable assistance in reconstituting the text which Puruṣottama had before him. The *Pravara-mañjari* is therefore extremely valuable as a nodal point, so to speak, in the history of the textual transmission; it is in fact possible, with the aid of the other nibandhas, to reconstruct Puruṣottama's text of the lists with comparative certainty.¹

About Puruṣottama himself we know nothing. There seem to be no grounds for considering him to be identical with any of the numerous other medieval writers of the same name, and the *Pravara-mañjari* appears to be his only known work. For his epithet of Pandita we are dependent on the colophons of his work. His date is quite uncertain; but it is possible to fix a later limit, since the *Pravara-mañjari* is quoted in the *Nṛsiṃha-prasāda*, and must therefore be at least older than A.D. 1512.² There is little doubt, however, that it is considerably older. Unlike all the other works on the subject which I have been able to consult, the *Mañjari* does not quote a single authority from the second millennium. Apart from Vedic authors, the only works referred to are Mnu, *Yājñavalkya*, the lost *Yama*, and 'another *smṛti*'. In addition to these, the explanation of the Sūtra texts is said to follow the views of the commentaries by Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin and Gurudevāsvāmin on the Āpastamba Sūtra, that of Devāsvāmin on Āśvalayana, that of Māṇḍātta on Satvāsādhya, and a lost commentary on Baudhāyana called the *Amala-bhāṣya*. Unfortunately, none of these commentators can be dated with any certainty. P. V. Kane³ has shown with fair probability that this Devāsvāmin cannot be later than A.D. 1000; but there is no evidence available that he might not have lived several centuries earlier.⁴ Therefore, on the evidence of quotations alone, it is not possible to date Puruṣottama to within a thousand years. We are thus left with only probabilities to guide us in fixing a date. The argument from silence is admittedly dangerous; but it seems highly probable that so loquacious an author would have quoted from the legal digests, as do the other medieval pravara-authors, had such digests existed for him to draw upon. It is possible that he knew the *Mitākṣarā*,⁵ which, as a mere commentary on Yājñavalkya, he would not necessarily name;

¹ It should be mentioned, however, that in printing the lists below, the aim has been to come as close as possible to the Sūtra originals.

² Op. cit. I, p. 281.

³ P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dharmasāstra*, I, p. 410.

⁴ Cf. Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 79.

⁵ He agrees with it in taking *ṛga* as a noun in Yājñavalkya's compound *ṛgagotra*, which means, however, 'gotra as determined by *ṛgi*' not 'gotra and pravara'. Such an argument is, of course, in no way conclusive.

and the earliest of the favourite authorities of the other writers, the *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara (composed between A.D. 1150 and 1200) is apparently unknown to him. Thus the *Pravara-mañjari* may be conjecturally assigned to a date before the twelfth century. Such a supposition is, at worst, not directly contradicted by the evidence.

For the text of the *Mañjari* itself, there are available:

Ed. The edition of the *Gotra-pravara-mañjari* of Puruṣottama-paṇḍita, Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore, 1900, forming pp. 1-147 of a collection of Sanskrit works on gotra and pravara edited by P. Chentsal Rao, and entitled by him *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*, 'The Principles of Pravara and Gotra'. This is a reprint in Nagari of the first edition in Telugu characters, and has been revised by the curator of the Government Oriental Library at Mysore.

P1. India Office Library, Eggeling, no. 1777. A well-written Nagari manuscript of the *Pravara-mañjari*. It is dated *śaṃvāt* 1866, i.e. A.D. 1810.

P2. India Office Library, Eggeling, no. 1778. Another manuscript of the same work, in badly written Nagari. It is undated, but would appear to be somewhat older than P1.

These three are all very mediocre, even as transmitters of Puruṣottama's already corrupted version of the lists. Ed., it is true, presents a fairly readable, though not always correct, text of Puruṣottama's own part of the work, that is to say, the introductory chapters, and the interspersed comments on the lists; but for the lists themselves it is quite clear that a fairly poor manuscript has been printed without any serious attempt at criticism. P1 and P2 agree in a number of lacunae, as well as in many individual readings, and are fairly close relatives, standing somewhat more distantly from Ed.

Next to the *Pravara-mañjari*, the most explicit account of the lists is furnished by the *Pravara-darpaṇa* of Kamalakara-bhaṭṭa. This is an early work, being prior to the same author's better-known *Nirnaya-sindhu*. The latter, in dealing with gotra and pravara, gives merely an outline account, naming only the chief gana-divisions with the pravaras; and it refers the reader to the author's fuller account in the *Pravara-darpaṇa*. Therefore, the latter must be dated before 1612,¹ but probably not more than two or three years earlier.

In this work, Kamalakara gives a refreshingly lucid and concise account of the system. It is clearly the product of a systematic mind, and shows a marked contrast in method as compared with Puruṣottama's diffuse treatment. Unlike the older author, Kamalakara does not claim to quote the Sūtra lists verbatim, but normally quotes for each family and subfamily first the names of the Baudhāyana list, then those names of the 'Kātyāyana-Laughāksi' list which do not occur in Baudhāyana, and thirdly, those from the Matsya Purāṇa which do not occur in either of the two preceding. All the names are given in the singular,

¹ Cf. Kane, op. cit. I, p. 437.

and the edition of the work has further dispensed with euphonic combination between them, giving everywhere *-ah*, *-ih*, etc. At the end of the first list quoted from Baudhāyana, Kamalākara adds that, where the reading of the *Manjari* and that of his manuscript of the *Sūtra* differ as giving either more or fewer names, he has given the names from both sources.¹ This, however, applies only to Baudhāyana's text, and there is no indication from the readings of any such conflation for the others. The manuscript in question clearly belongs to the group we have designated *B* (see p. 44), but its readings appear only very occasionally, and Kamalākara has relied for the rest entirely on the *Manjari*. This conclusion is supported by the order in which the *Sūtra* authors are given (although in some families the Matsya names are quoted before the 'Kātyāyana-Laṅkāśi' lists) as well as by numerous individual readings.

In addition, however, to the *Sūtras* quoted by the *Pravara-manjari*, Kamalākara has collated the *Hiranyakeśi Sūtra*'s account, and has carefully noted those cases where the latter gives a few names more than *Āpastamba* (see above, p. 27).

The sources are:

D1. The edition of the *Pravara-darpaṇa* forming pp. 148-88 of Chentsal Rao's compendium mentioned above.

D2. India Office Library, Eggeing, no. 1780. This manuscript is the twin of P1, being of the same paper and size. The handwriting, though of very similar style to P1, is not identical, but there is no reason to doubt that the two have the same date and provenance (c. 1810 therefore).

Raghunātha-bhaṭṭa, who wrote a *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya*, was the cousin of Kamalākara's father. His work was therefore presumably composed some years before the latter's,² though there is no conclusive evidence from the readings of the two texts that Kamalākara used his older relation's work as a source for the *Sūtra* lists. In style of presentation Raghunātha's work is less attractive. Like Kamalākara, he regularly gives for each subfamily first the list of Baudhāyana, then that of 'Kātyāyana and Laṅkāśi', and thirdly that of the Matsya-Purana, omitting from the later lists names which have occurred in the preceding. Unlike the *Pravara-darpaṇa*, however, he does not acknowledge the provenance of the names, giving no indication where the one *Sūtra* account ends and the next begins, nor even mentioning the fact that he owes his text of the lists to the *Pravara-manjari*. As in the case of the *Darpaṇa*, this indebtedness is amply proved by individual readings as well as by the order of the *Sūtra* lists. By preference, Raghunātha quotes the names in the plural, occasionally, however, giving a singular where the *Sūtra* text also has a singular. For this work, the only source available is:

R. India Office Library, Eggeing, no. 1781; an indifferently written Nāgari manuscript of the *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya* by Raghunātha, dated *saṃvat* 1744.

¹ *yady api pravara-manjari-dhṛta-baudhāyana-sūtre ākare ca sūtre bhāṣyaṁ nyimādhakhaṇḍaḥvāḥvā tathā 'py ubhayaśūdrēṇa vadāmaḥ.*

² Kane, op. cit. p. 726, gives A.D. 1545-1625 as the dates of Raghunātha's activity.

i.e. A.D. 1688. The colophon gives Raghunātha's father's name, Mādhava-bhaṭṭa, and his grandfather's, Rāmeśvara-bhaṭṭa (Rāmeśa), the latter of course being also the father of the famous Narayana-bhaṭṭa, and the great-grandfather of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa.

Exceptionally closely related to Raghunātha's work is the *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya* of Jivadeva (late seventeenth century). This is preserved for us embedded in the text of his better-known elder brother's *Samśkāra-kaustubha*, and is introduced by Anantadeva with the words: *atha gotra-pravara-nirṇayo mad-anujā-jivadeva-krta ecāsminn avasare pradāryate*. The text of the lists in this work is so closely similar to that of Raghunātha (even to the extent of agreeing at times in the precise wording of the few interspersed comments) that it must be taken to be a direct copy either of Raghunātha's work or of his immediate source. For this work, I have relied on the lithographed edition, which is dated 1783 *śake*, i.e. A.D. 1861. The readings of this edition, denoted in the apparatus criticus by 'Sk', have the value of a tolerably good manuscript of Jivadeva's text.

It is convenient to mention here that these three texts, D, R and Sk, in addition to the lists taken from the *Pravara-manjari*, give at the end of most of the bigger families a supplementary list of names. In these, R and Sk normally agree together more closely than either does with D, but there is no question that the supplementary lists in all three come from one original source. It is interesting to observe that here D agrees more closely with R and Sk than in the lists from the *Manjari*, and it seems a feasible suggestion that Kamalākara had before him the source from which Raghunātha derived them. R and Sk attach these supplementary lists directly to the end of the Matsya list, giving no comment to show that a fresh list is starting. Kamalākara, however, would seem to have subjected them to a certain amount of editorial criticism, for in some places he omits a number of names, and in others groups them rather differently from the other two sources. He regularly introduces these supplements with such words as *kecid āhuḥ*, and frequently remarks of them, with commendable caution, that their source is questionable (*atra mālaṁ mrgyam*). Their origin is still quite obscure. It is possible that they represent yet another ancient *Sūtra* account; but the general impression given is that they are composed largely of variants of names already in the other lists, strung together in haphazard order. It is of interest that occasional names agreeing with the Mānava-text and the Bodleian 'White Yajur-veda *pariśiṣṭa*' occur here. Some source similar to these two must at all events have been available somewhere in the descent of D, R and Sk, since the latter quotes several families (e.g. *Vedaśiṣṭajyotiṣ* among the Bhṛguḥ) which neither the *Manjari* nor the other *Sūtra* lists know, but which do occur in the Mānava and Bodleian texts.

All the sources described up to this point contain information about all the lists. We shall mention the remaining sources in dealing with the separate *Sūtra* accounts.

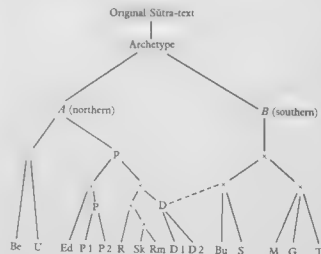
THE BAUDHĀYANA LIST

The Baudhāyana pravara-chapter is the only one of the fuller accounts which is at present available in published form, being included in Caland's edition of the Śrauta Sūtra in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. For convenience of reference, I have quoted Caland's manuscripts throughout. These are six in number, denoted by him by the sigla M, G, T, Bu, Be, and U. For a fuller account of these, see Caland, *BaudhŚrS.* III, p. ix. Caland also used P 1, R (called by him Pm and Pn respectively) and Sk, already described above, as well as the Baudhāyana readings from the *Śaṃskāra-ratnamālā* (Rm) by Gopinātha-dikṣita.

Caland distinguished the two groups of manuscripts, M, G, T and Bu on the one side, and Be, U and Pm on the other, adding that the other nibandhas appear to draw on Pm. This last conjecture can now be seen to be in fact true (although strictly one must restate the position more precisely: the other nibandhas are dependent on earlier manuscripts of the work of which Pm (our P 1) is a late and not particularly good representative). These two groups I have denoted by the letters A (=Be, U+the *Pravara-mañjarī* and its descendants) and B (=M, G, T, Bu). Here it is important to note that G (the edition of 1905), M (from Madras) and Bu are all in the Grantha character, while T, from Tanjore in the extreme south, is also presumably a southern manuscript, though this is not explicitly stated by Caland. On the other hand, group A contains only northern sources: Be from Benares, and U from Ujjain; while, although Puruṣottama's home is not known, the other nibandha-writers are definitely from the north, the Bhaṭṭa family being resident in Benares, while Anantadeva is known to have been patronised by a Himalayan chieftan, Baz Bahadur Candra.¹ It may therefore be reasonably suggested that these two groups of manuscripts represent respectively a northern and southern recension of the text. This conclusion is of importance for the criticism of the text, since it is virtually certain that such a split between the two recensions must be of considerable antiquity, and their common archetype can safely be considered to be many centuries older than Puruṣottama's text. If, on the other hand, both groups had arisen in the same part of the country, there would have been no external reason why the B-group should not have diverged from the other some time after Puruṣottama's date. It is true that the respective readings of the two groups make such a theory not at all probable, the time available being hardly sufficient to allow for such a marked difference as the two traditions show. It is nevertheless of value to have this additional argument to support the theory of an early divergence. There is another slight confirmation available. In the second edition of Chentsal Rao's book, there appear in the footnotes the readings of another source, designated by the editor as *Śym*, or *Śym-kōśa*. The precise meaning of this symbol is not clear to me, but it seems a reasonable conjecture

that the source in question is the printed text of the first edition. From the preface of the second, we learn that the first edition, in addition to the text of the *Pravara-mañjarī*, had printed separately the Baudhāyana account (a feature retained in the second in the case of Āpastamba and Āśvalayana), but that the reviser had decided to dispense with it, since the *Mañjarī* already contained the whole of Baudhāyana's text. The second edition also has been revised in the light of manuscripts belonging to the Government Oriental Library at Mysore. Now, the readings of *Śym* for the Baudhāyana text agree closely with the manuscripts of the B-group, and in particular with Bu (which, we may note here, is also the closest relative of Kamalakara-bhaṭṭa's secondary source); whereas in the rest of the text it clearly belongs to the *Mañjarī* tradition, being most nearly related to P 2. It therefore seems likely that the readings of *Śym*, which I have for convenience designated 'S', are those of the first edition, taken from the *Mañjarī* text for the rest of the work, but for the sake of variety from the separate printing of Baudhāyana's account. It is natural that the manuscript used for this separate printing, in Mysore, should be representative of the southern tradition.

The history of Baudhāyana's pravara-chapter may therefore be represented by the following stemma:



¹ Kane, op. cit. 1, p. 451.

THE OTHER DETAILED ACCOUNTS

The precise position in the Vedic literature of the pravara-chapter attributed by Puruṣottama to Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi is a complex problem, to the discussion of which we shall return below. For the present, we shall consider the text. For this list we have no account preserved which is independent of Puruṣottama's work, and therefore at first sight the position would seem to be considerably worse than for Baudhāyana's list. Nevertheless, the existence of three additional sources which must come ultimately from the same original, namely, the Mānava, the Bodleian manuscript, and the Matsya Purāṇa account, make it possible to improve the text quite appreciably.

For Puruṣottama's account, the sources are as already given for Baudhāyana.

The India Office Library possesses a modern Nāgarī copy of a pravara-chapter called the *Mānava* in the catalogue (Keith, no. 4599); the final colophon attributes it to the Maitrayani-sākhā. In view of the uncertainty surrounding the whole question of attribution of these *pravara-khaṇḍas*, the mere evidence of a colophon must be treated with scepticism; but for convenience the readings of this manuscript have been noted as 'Mān'.

Very closely related to this is the *pravara-dhīyā* in the Bodleian manuscript of the *Parīśiṣṭas* of the White Yajur-veda, of which it forms the eleventh. In the manuscript, the ending of the third *parīśiṣṭa* and the beginning of the eleventh are missing, the pravara-lists starting in the middle of the Bhṛguś. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a copy of this manuscript in Roman transcription, and Weber, in his Catalogue, has printed the whole of the pravara-chapter from this copy 'because of the importance of the subject-matter, and in spite of the frightful state of the manuscript'. I have perforce depended on Weber's Catalogue for this text, and although it is there available in published form, I have printed it here, together with the Manava, for ease of reference, and also because comparison with the other lists made it possible to restore something even of these appallingly corrupt manuscripts. To avoid begging the question of attribution, I have denoted the readings of the Bodleian text by the letter 'W'.

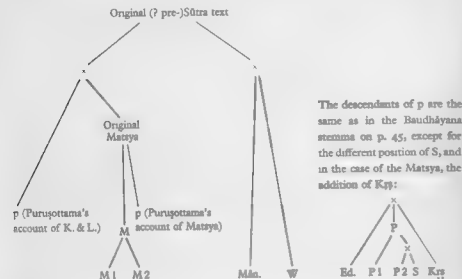
The Matsya list is preserved by Puruṣottama, and in the texts of the Purāṇa itself. For the latter, I have been able to compare the Calcutta edition of 1876 and the Ānandaśrama edition of 1907, denoted in the apparatus criticus by 'M1' and 'M2' respectively. I also started to collate the readings of the names in the translation published in the 'Sacred Books of the Hindus' Series, vol. xvii, by 'a Taluqdar of Oudh'. This, however, turns out to be a thoroughly careless piece of work, following the Calcutta edition, or an equally incorrect text, and having no value whatsoever for our purpose. Neither M1 nor M2 is a critical edition, though M2 pretends to be, by giving a list of variants in the form of an apparatus criticus. The agreement between the two is almost complete—so

much so as to give the impression that M2 has been copied directly from M1. This is, however, presumably not the case, since the Calcutta edition is not cited among the sources by M2. But it is surprising how frequently M2 prints the correct reading in a footnote, from one of its manuscripts, but gives in the body of the text the same blunder as M1. At all events, it is certain that the tradition of these two is distinct from that preserved by Puruṣottama.

For the reconstruction of the Matsya's text, one further source is available, namely, the *Pravara-dīpikā* which, we learn from a colophon, was composed by Kṛṣṇa-saiva, son of Rama-saiva, preserved in an India Office manuscript (Egging, no. 1779). This is a very old manuscript, undated, but carefully written in archaic Nāgarī, while the paper is worm-eaten and much yellowed and brittle. It may with safety be conjectured to be at least three hundred years old, possibly more. The date of composition is unknown. Kṛṣṇa quotes, in addition to a large number of Smṛtis, not only Puruṣottama's work but also the *Smṛtyarthasūtra* and the *Smṛticandrikā*. If by the last we can understand Devanna-bhatta's well-known work, the *Pravara-dīpikā* must have been composed subsequent to A.D. 1200, although how much later remains uncertain. The work commences with the gotra-lists; and, although the source of these is not acknowledged, they have been taken direct from the *Matsya Purāṇa*, from which also a number of intervening verses are taken (e.g. the usual formulae, *parasparam atāvāhyā ṛṣayah parikīrtitāḥ*, etc.). The surprising fact, however, is that the source is not the Purāṇa text itself, but the version of it given in the *Pracara-mañjarī*. It shows considerable agreement in its readings and lacunae, e.g. the gap of twenty-four names in the Matsya account of the Bharadvajas. Completely conclusive, however, is the case of the Gautamas. These, in Puruṣottama's text, are given separately for the other lists; but for the Matsya account they are given together with the Bhāradvajas, thus coming after the Bhāradvaja lists of the others. Kṛṣṇa gives for the Gautamas a short confused list composed for the most part of gana-names masquerading as individual families, and derived from the other Sūtra lists. Then follow a few Bhāradvajas, and, finally, the main Matsya list of the Gautamas, succeeded by the Matsya Bharadvajas. It is clear that Kṛṣṇa, with the *Mañjarī* text before him, was puzzled by the apparent omission of the Gautamas in the Matsya account, and, to hide the deficiency, simply manufactured a list from the materials of the Sūtra accounts. When later in the work he came upon the Gautama list proper, he inserted it without comment, probably not realising that it was the list he had previously missed. It remains a problem why Kṛṣṇa should have confined his attention in the main to the Matsya list, when the others were available to him. (Admittedly, a few additional points are added from the other lists in several families.) The only solution which suggests itself is simply that in his piety he thought the Matsya a more reliable source than the Sūtras. In the manuscript each name is given separately, uninflected, with a number. This attempt at

INTRODUCTION

clarity has revealed a quite surprisingly large number of cases where the word-division has been wrongly understood, and where epithets and so forth have been taken as distinct proper names. By itself, therefore, the work is of minimal value; but in a number of cases it supplies useful confirmation of Puruṣottama's readings. In the apparatus criticus its readings are denoted by 'Kṛṣ'.



The systematic position of the *Matsya Purāṇa* account of the pravara-lists is beyond question: it has clearly been derived from a Sūtra account which, if not identical, was very closely related to the 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi' list as given by Puruṣottama. That this source was already corrupted is shown by the impossibility in a number of cases of fitting the correct names into the metre—although the possibility that in some cases the Matsya author distorted names to fit his metre must be borne in mind. The order of the names conforms as closely to the Sūtra order as the metre allows; otherwise minor inversions are admitted.

It will not be out of place to remark here that the state of the Matsya text of the pravara-lists is a notable revelation of the utter lack of trustworthiness of the printed editions of the Purāṇa, and even, to judge by the variants noted by M2, of the Purāṇa manuscripts in general. It is obvious that if we had to depend entirely on the manuscripts of the Matsya for the reconstruction of these chapters the result would be quite hopeless as a detailed account of the gotra system. In this particular case, the external evidence provided by the Sūtras make it possible to give an approximation to the original text; but the Purāṇa tradition itself could scarcely be worse preserved. The present case is therefore

KĀTYĀYANA AND LAUGĀKṢI

a solemn warning against the use of editions of the Purāṇas—especially since most are, even from the point of view of their own manuscripts, quite uncritical—as sources for historical facts, unless there is also available very weighty confirmatory evidence from altogether independent sources.¹

The interrelationship, therefore, of the various texts may be shown by the stemma on p. 48.

KĀTYĀYANA AND LAUGĀKṢI

The problem in brief is that Puruṣottama quotes a single list which he attributes to both Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi; whereas the list preserved in the Bodleian manuscript of 'White Yajur-veda Parīṣiṣṭas' (W), which is also ascribed to Kātyāyana in the colophon, differs from Puruṣottama's list in several important respects, most notably in the addition of a number of families among the Bhṛgu, the Viśvāmitras, and the Agastis. Moreover, while W often agrees with K. & L. in the ordering of individual names within the ganas, it often disagrees not only in the order but also in adding or omitting names. To add to the complexity of the problem, the India Office *Mānava-pratārādhyāya* agrees for the most part with W and as against K. & L.

Caland² accepted W as being the Kātyāyana text, and assumed that the list given by Puruṣottama was that of the Laugākṣi School only, that is, the Kathaka text. In his apparatus criticus, therefore, 'Kātyāyana' refers to W, and 'Laugākṣi' to the readings of P1 for K. & L. The question, however, is hardly to be dismissed so simply. Puruṣottama, for all his shortcomings, is an exceedingly conscientious writer, and it is on the face of it unlikely that he should make such a rash ascription as Caland's view would imply. Moreover, some of Puruṣottama's remarks make it quite clear that he had before him a manuscript which at least called itself the Kātyāyana text. Thus, at the end of the Gautama section, he comments that the Laugākṣi reading is throughout *angirastat*, while in the text, according to Kātyāyana, he gives the normal *Sūtra angirastat*. Completely convincing, however, is the concluding Sūtra of the *paribhāṣa*-chapter. Here the order of the names in the pravaras is prescribed, and Puruṣottama's text notes that Kātyāyana alone of all the Sūtra writers gives the same order for the Adhvaryu's pravara as for the Hotṛ's; while the others all state that the Adhvaryu reverses the order of the Hotṛ's pravara, Laugākṣi agreeing with the majority. Now, the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa pointedly gives the prescription for the order of the Adhvaryu's pravara in precisely the same words

¹ The only other Purāṇa which deals with the subject of the gotras would seem to be the amorphous collection known as the *Skanda-purāṇa* (in the *Dharmarāṇya-māhātmya* of the *Brahma-khaṇḍa*, chaps. 9, 21, and 39). The account given is garbled and corrupt, and the author seems to have had at best only a very slight understanding of the gotra organisation. It is at all events clear that nothing of any value for the understanding of the older texts can be obtained from this source.

² *Baudh. Śrauta Sūtra*, III, p. x.

as for that of the Hotṛ; and the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra equally clearly gives the same rule.¹ There can therefore be no doubt that Puruṣottama had before him the authentic Kātyāyana text. Equally, there can be no doubt that W is not the Kātyāyana text, in spite of its colophon, since it gives the Adhvaryu's pravara in the same order as do the majority of the Sūtras. There is, however, no means of deciding the real origin of W. We may provisionally accept Man. as the text of the Mānava School, although the occurrence of families foreign to the other lists (except W) and to the Vedic literature generally (for example, Vatsa-purodhara, Veda-viśvajyotis, Kapotaretas, etc.) make it probable that the text as we know it has been extensively interpolated. It is conceivable that W is a fairly recent plagiarism of the Mānava text, although such differences as, for example, the pravara of the Śunga-Śaṁsira, where Man. gives the last two names of the pravara as *Saunga, Śaṁsira* (agreeing with K. & L., Matsya), while W gives *Kātya, Āthila* (agreeing with Āpastamba, Āśvalayana), would seem to be true variants. Nevertheless, the agreement between the two is remarkably close, although both have admittedly suffered badly at the hands of copyists. After the Angirases, they both give the remaining gotras in the order Viśvamitras, Vasiṣṭhas, Kaśyapas, Atris, Agastyas; whereas the other Sūtras (and the Matsya) have the order Atris, Viśvāmitras, Kaśyapas, Vasiṣṭhas, Agastyas.²

A number of definite errors is shared by K. & L., Man. & W, as well as by the Matsya, and it is certain that the text was corrupted very early in its history. An interesting example is the family which appears in Baudhāyana, Āśvalayana, and Āpastamba as Śraumata-Kamākāyana (among the Viśvamitras) but is given by Man., W, K. & L., and the Matsya unanimously as Saumuka-K. (which has further been corrupted by W to saumga-). In view of such cases, it is highly probable that the common ancestor of these four lists must be assigned to a period later than the other Sūtra lists, when the names given in the lists were no longer current. This would imply direct borrowing of the text of one School by another. In fact, we may consider this borrowing to be established in the case of the Kātyāyana and Jāgalsi Schools, since, however surprising such a thing may be between a Black Yajus School and the White Yajus, the alternative would be to assume that the original of the lists, complete with the individual subfamilies, was originally composed before the Vājasaneyi schism. Such a theory, though not impossible, is on the whole rather improbable.

¹ SB 1. 5. 1. 10; KŚS 3. 25; see below, p. 75. This is clearly an instance of the reforming zeal of the Vājasaneyina.

² The B-group of manuscripts for the Baudhāyana list, however, has the order Atris, Kaśyapas, Vasiṣṭhas, Viśvāmitras, Agastyas.

PĀṆINI AND THE GAṆA-PĀṬHA

Pāṇini, as is well known, gives a detailed and intricate set of rules for the formation of gotra-names by means of the suffixes -i, -ya, -āyana, -āyani, etc. For the purpose of his grammar, he defines the term *gotra* as *apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram*,¹ that is to say, 'a gotra is a man's descendants from the grandson onwards'. But if a member of the first filial generation is still alive, the grandson's generation is technically called *yutan*,² and different rules are prescribed for the derivation of the *yutan*-name from that of the grandfather. There are several indications that Pāṇini knew a pravara-list, which may of course not be one of those which have come down to us. Thus, for example, 4. 1. 102 teaches the forms Śaradvatāyana and Śaunakāyana in the sense of a Bhṛgu and a Vatsa respectively; in other cases the forms are Śaradvata (cf. the Gautamas), and Śaunaka (a separate gana of the Kevāla Bhṛgu). Again, 4. 1. 108 prescribes the form Vātandya for an Āngirasa, but otherwise Vātandja (cf. the Viśvāmitras).

Even more striking are the correspondences between the pravara-lists and the lists of the *Gana-pāṭha*. The most outstanding case occurs in the *gaṇa-aśvādi*, where the forms 'Bharadvājāyana in the sense of an Ātreya', and 'Ātreyaṇa in the sense of a Bharadvāja' are prescribed. Both of these forms appear in the pravara-lists under the families indicated by the *Gana-pāṭha*.

Both the text of Pāṇini and that of the *Gana-pāṭha* therefore supply us with very valuable evidence in a number of cases for the reconstruction of the text of the pravara-lists. It can scarcely be supposed that the text of the *Gana-pāṭha* as it has come down to us is completely free from error, but it is incomparably better preserved than that of the pravara-lists, and constituting as it does a completely independent source, it possesses a very high value in those cases, unfortunately few, where its evidence can be adduced.

For a fuller discussion, see Brough, *JRAS* (1946), pp. 41 ff.

In translating Puruṣottama's own somewhat verbose text, I have tried as far as possible to spare the reader's patience by condensing much of the repetitive material, and by omitting entirely a large number of verses, which, as being merely extravagant laudations of the Sūtra-authors, or else simply repetitions in verse of what has already been stated in prose, add nothing of value to our knowledge of the system of gotra and pravara.

¹ 4. 1. 162.

² 4. 1. 163.

THE GOTRA-PRVARA-MANJARI
OF
PURUṢOTTAMA-PAṆḌITA

GOTRA-PRAVARA-MANJARI

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

He who marries the daughter of a man of his own gotra or pravara is to be subjected to the same punishments and penances, etc., as one who sins with his mother; and he begets on her a son who is a Caṇḍāla by caste.¹

But if a man in ignorance marries such a girl and has intercourse with her, the wife ought to undergo a Lunar penance, and if she conceives, the offspring is not defiled, and is said by the sages who are expert in gotra matters to belong to the Kāśyapa gotra.

When the man has performed the Cāndrāyana penance, and has expelled his sin, then husband and wife should together serve one another all the days of their life, showing mutual respect, like mother and son.

Those who do not know the *gaṇas* of their own gotra- and pravara-seers and those of others, must be held to fall into great sin, but those who know this distinction dwell in the world of Brahmā.

And since it is difficult to grasp the gotras, which number three *koṭis*, I have therefore undertaken this 'Cluster of buds' (*manjari*) which has as its fruit the understanding of all the gotras and pravaras of everyone. May this 'Cluster', blossoming with gotras and having understanding of the pravaras as its fruit, be an oblation of flowers among the lotus petals which are the feet of the wise men who know all things and are learned in the Vedas.

In this work, therefore, by the favour of Siva and of my teacher, I shall explain the pravaras of the three *varṇas* to the best of my instruction and knowledge, for the sake of aiding those who are lacking in learning or wisdom. Thus, I shall explain the nature and enumeration of the gotras, the rules concerning sameness of gotra and membership of two gotras, and the prohibition of marriage in that case, the nature and enumeration of the pravaras, cases where there is doubt as to pravara, the rules concerning sameness of pravara, and the prohibition of marriage in that case; citing at every point what can be learned in the pravara-chapters of such Kalpa-Sūtra authors as Baudhayana, Āpastamba, Satyaśaḍha, Kuṇḍina, Bharadvāja, Laugakṣi, Kātyāyana, and Āśvalayana; the authors of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, etc.; of Epics such as the *Bhārata*, of Smṛtis such as *Manu*, etc.; according

¹ *Jāticaṇḍāla* is a somewhat awkward formation. The model is clearly the common *jātibrāhmaṇa*, a Brahman whose sole qualification as a Brahman is his birth; cf. *Mahābhāṣya*, i. 4.11:

*tapah hrutaṃ ca yonir eṣa brāhmaṇakārakam:
tapahhrutābhyāṃ yō hino jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ.*

But to give the impression of 'a Caṇḍāla by birth alone' is somewhat inept, and no doubt the difficulties of the metre must be blamed. For this stigma, cf. below, p. 62.

to the traditional interpretation of the commentators on each of these authors.

In these works, the authors of Kalpa Sūtras, Purāṇas and Smṛtis teach their gotra- and pravara-sections in one and the same order. That order, which we also shall follow in our exposition, we shall first index here, for the assistance and easier understanding of unlearned Brahmans.

Chapter I

First of all comes the section dealing with General Rules (*paribhāṣā*), containing all the arguments relating to the prescriptions and duties connected with gotra and pravara; and in this section there are quotations prescribing gotras and pravaras and their enumeration, from the *Taittirīyas* and other directly revealed *sākhās* of the Vedas.

Chapter II

Thereafter is treated the section dealing with the enumeration of the gotras and pravaras of the Bhṛgu; the gotra-gaṇas that are taught are:

Vatsa	Śunaksa
Bida	Mitrayus ¹
Ārṣṭiseṇa	Vaiṇya, etc.
Yaska	

And according to the gaṇas, the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

The three gaṇas, Vatsa, Ārṣṭiseṇa and Bida, are forbidden to marry with each other and within their own gaṇa. The others, from Yaska to Vaiṇya, may not marry within their own gaṇa, but are permitted to intermarry with all the others already mentioned and to be mentioned hereafter.

Chapter III

Next come the sections dealing with the gotras and pravaras of the Āṅgirasas, in three divisions, viz. Gautamas, Bharadvājas, and Kevala Āṅgirasas.

1. The following are taught as the manifold gaṇas of the Gautamas:

Āyāsa Gautamas	Somarājaka Gautamas
Aucathya Gautamas	Vāmadeva Gautamas
Audija Gautamas	Bṛhaduktha Gautamas
Rahōga Gautamas	

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Gautamas.

2. Next, Bharadvājas. And among the gaṇas of Bharadvājas are the following:

Kevala Bharadvājas
Śunga-Śaśirī, who belong to two families ²
Rkṣas
Kapī
Gaṅgas, etc.

¹ Ed. *mitrayuṣā(h)*.

² *deyamasyadyaga*.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Bharadvājas.

3. Next, the Kevala Āṅgirasas. The gaṇas are:

Harita	Mudgala
Kutsa	Sarpkṛti
Kaṇva	Viṣṇuvṛddha, etc.
Rathitara	

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

Among these, Haritas and Kutsas do not intermarry one with the other.³ Kaṇvas and the rest are permitted to intermarry.

Chapter IV

Next come the gotras of the Atris. Among these the gaṇas are:

Kevala Atris
Vadbhutakas ⁴
Gaviṣṭhira
Atutis
Putrikāputras, etc.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Atris.

Chapter V

Next, the gotras of the Viśvāmitras. Among these the gaṇas are:

Devarīkṣas	Dhanarājyas
Raukṣakas	Aghamarājyas
Lohakas	Pūrapas
Lohitas	Indrakautikas
Srautasas	Ājyanas
Katas	Rapavas, ⁵ etc.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Viśvāmitras

Chapter VI

Next, the gotras of the Kaśyapas. Among these the gaṇas are:

Nidhravas
Rcbhas
Śāṇḍilas
Laugākṣas, ⁶ etc.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Kaśyapas.

¹ Both are comprehended under the Yauvanāśva gaṇa. See the lists given below, pp. 121, 127

² Ed. *vāghātākā*.

³ Ed. *revana*.

⁴ Ed. *logakṣa*.

Chapter VII

Next, the gotras of the Vasiṣṭhas. Among these the gaṇas are:

Kevala Vasiṣṭhas
Upamanyus
Parāśaras
Kuṇḍīnas
Sampkrtus.¹

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravara and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Vasiṣṭhas.

Chapter VIII

Next, the gotras of the Agastis. Among these the gotra-gaṇas are:

Idhmavāhas	Yajñavāhas
Sāmbhavāhas	Māhēndras
Somavāhas	Paurṇamīśas.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravara and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Agastis.

Chapter IX

Thereafter, the pravara of Kṣatriyas, their own, and (the rule as to) the pravara of their purohita.

The fact of non-intermarriage between Kṣatriyas and the gotras and pravaras of their purohitas is not taught, since the term (gotra) has no validity in their case, and in the absence of that validity there is no occasion for the prohibition.²

Thereafter, of Vaiśyas, just as in the case of Kṣatriyas—their own pravara, and that of their purohita.

[Chapter X. The topics which constitute this chapter are omitted from the summary. They are: cases where the gotra is not known; sacrificial applications of gotra, etc., marriage within the mother's gotra.]

Chapter XI

Then come sections on the *Mānava-pravara*, common to all the (three) varṇas. In these sections is given the *Mānava-pravara* of one ṛṣi-name, belonging without distinction to the three varṇas.

Chapter XII

And finally are taught the concluding sections of the work, which demonstrate the fruits attained by the study of the pravara-chapters by those who know the truth concerning sameness of gotra and pravara—comparable to the study of the Veda by those who know *brahman*—viz. the attainment of the world of Brahmā. And with this the pravara-chapters come to an end.

¹ Cf. above, p. 57, among the Kevala Āngirāsas.

² So P₂; Ed. omits the words 'and in the absence...prohibition'; while P₁ gives the rule only in a marginal correction and by the unfortunate omission of the words *na* and *prāpīyabhedāt* reverses the sense. Cf. however below, pp. 195-6.

Within the gaṇas which have been classified in this index of chapters, it must be known that the number of gotras, the names and series, which occur in any one gaṇa, are all classified according to the order of the Sūtra texts. Similarly, the enumeration of the pravaras, with their division into five, three, two and one ṛṣi-name respectively, must be known according to the order of the Sūtra texts.

Thus, all that is to be said in this work has been here indexed, to satisfy curiosity, and to make things easier to grasp.

In this work then I shall first explain the Sūtras given in the Great Pravara-chapter of Baudhāyana, quoting it *in extenso* to the end of the first chapter;¹ thereafter quoting and explaining the Sūtras of Āpastamba, etc.

¹ Read *tatrā prathamādhyāyopariśamāpter*. In other words, a complete chapter at a time will be quoted, before the other Sūtras are cited for comparison.

a woman;¹ and he who is begotten by a Śūdra on a Brahman woman; and the son of a woman who has married a man of the same gotra: these three are held to be Caṇḍālas.²

Similarly, in another *smṛti*: 'The offspring of a celibate ascetic who has intercourse with a woman; and he who is begotten by a Śūdra on a Brahman woman: know that these two are Caṇḍālas; and likewise he who is born from the same gotra.'³

So too: 'He who marries the daughter of his mother's brother; or a woman of his mother's gotra; or a woman of the same pravara, should leave her, and perform the Cāndriyāna penance.'⁴

So, too, in dealing with the Śraddha, Āpastamba says:⁵ 'One should entertain those who are not related by blood (*yoni*), gotra, mantras,⁶ or by the fact of their being pupils.' And see too, other passages in the *smṛtis paṣim*.

(And this study is an important matter,) since the afore-mentioned sacrificial occasions and ritual acts such as marriage, etc., are dependent on a knowledge of the facts about gotra and pravara; and since in the absence of this knowledge complete and utter destruction is entailed, because of the loss of Brahmanhood which is resultant on sins such as violating one's teacher's wife, or producing children who are Caṇḍālas.

And because the number of the gotras is measured at three *koṭis*—like the number of dust of the earth, or the stars in the sky—Baudhāyana shows the difficulty of knowing the subject by pointing out the number in the following stanza:⁷

'Of the gotras there are thousands, millions, and tens of millions; but the pravaras of these are forty-nine, as the *ṛṣi*-names show.'⁸

Since the three numerals in this stanza, thousands, millions, and tens of millions, are all in the plural number, there turn out to be three *koṭis* (thirty million) of gotras.⁹ Therefore immediately after the previously completed Ritual-section, in order to impart the knowledge which is in fact required in that section as to gotra, and non-marriage in the case of identity of gotra and pravara, 'Therefore', he says, i.e. because of this, 'we shall explain the pravaras', since in the absence of this word, the heading-rule, namely, that what follows deals with ritual, would not be applicable, because these pravaras have not been

¹ *śraṅghapatāḍṇatyaṃ*: so interpreted by Abhinava-Mādhava, *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya*, 90 (in Chentel Rao's compendium, *Principles of Pravara and Gotra*, p. 353).

² Attributed by the medieval nibandhas, *Samśkṛta-kautubhas*, *Nirṇaya-sūtras*, to Śaṅkara.

³ *ĀgS* 21. 2; cf. *ĀpDhS* 2. 17. 4.

⁴ Oldenberg, *SBE* xxx, p. 292, explains 'such as his teacher or his pupils'; but the meaning may be wider, 'belonging to his own Vedic *śākhā*'.

⁵ *BSS* pr. 54.

⁶ The clumsy expression *ṛṣidarśanāt* may be a reminiscence of Yāska's etymology, *ṛṣi darśanāt*, *Nir.* 2. 11.

⁷ Cf. below, p. 204. Note that Puruṣottama takes *arabuda* to mean ten millions (= *koṭi*), instead of its usual sense of a hundred millions.

spoken of in the Ritual-section. This is the explanation of the words 'Now therefore'.¹

We shall explain the *pravaras*. The *pravaras* of all Brahmans who have established the sacred fire, and who belong to several thousands, millions and tens of millions of gotras, related in branches and secondary branches in the line of their family descent (*vamsa*) from the seven *ṛṣis* with Agastya as the eighth, as shall be shown in the sequel—these *pravaras* are the *especial supplications* (*prakarṣeṇa varānām*).² i.e. the prayers (*prarthanām*) as made by each several individual to the Āhavaniya fire, called the Oblation-bearer, by reason of its being related to the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya either as descendant or as being like them.³

And these *pravaras* are prescribed in two different forms for the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu respectively. In the case of the Vatsas, for example, that of the Hotṛ is a five-*ṛṣi* pravara: 'O Bhargava, Cyavana, Āpnavana, Aurva, Jāmadagnya.' In this pravara, information is given to the Āhavaniya fire by means of the names of five seers of Vedic hymns who are famed among the gods. 'Thinking 'Thus informed, and not otherwise, will the fire bear the oblation to the gods', the Hotṛ invites (*ṛṇite*) that fire, i.e. supplicates it (*prārthayate*). So, too, with the same five Vedic seers, but in reverse order of descent from the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, by reason of its likeness to them, the Adhvaryu invites, i.e. supplicates, the same Āhavaniya fire, as: 'Like Jāmadagni, like Ūrva, like Āpnavana, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu.' The meaning of this is, 'Just as Jāmadagni and the rest, because of being known to the gods by reason of their fitness, and the fact that they offered acceptable food at the sacrifice, were therefore fit persons to cast their oblations for the gods into thee, so also this sacrificer, as a Vatsa, and therefore a descendant of theirs, and as standing in the place of a father to thee, since he kindled thee,⁴ is likewise fit to cast the oblation into thee.' And in the pravara of the Adhvaryu this same Āhavaniya fire is invited, i.e. supplicated. And that this is in fact the correct explanation of the word *pravara* is shown by the *Samdheni*-verses, whose purpose is to bring forth the fire, and by the Brāhmaṇa passages which prescribe the pravara. Thus, in the *Samdhenis*, the verses: 'We choose Agni as our messenger', 'Choose ye the Oblation-carrier', etc.,⁵ show that the Āhavaniya fire is the object of the pravara, since *Agni*, the fire, is given in the accusative case. The Brāhmaṇa-passage of the *Taittiriya* dealing with the pravara in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices which explains this mantra makes the meaning clear.⁶ 'Now there are three Agnis, the Oblation-carrier of the gods, the Offering-carrier of the Fathers, the Raksas-companion

¹ The point is that *atah* is to have its sense of 'therefore', and not, as one might expect, 'from this point onward', since this latter sense might be taken to mean that a new and unconnected section was starting.

² In the usual etymological manner, *pra-* is explained by *prakarṣeṇa*.

³ The *ṛddhi* form of the Hotṛ's pravara, and the suffix *-at* of the Adhvaryu's.

⁴ This seemingly artificial explanation is probably very old, cf. *VS* 35. 22: 'Thou wert born from this man (at the Agnyādhāna), O Agni...may he be born again from thee.'

⁵ *TB* 3. 5. 2.

⁶ *TS* 2. 5. 8.

of the Asuras. These here recite, "He will be choose, me"; "Choose ye the Oblation-carrier", he says; he thus chooses the one which is of the gods; he chooses him as being connected with the *ṛṣis*;¹ he does not depart from the relationship (with the *ṛṣis*); and so it conduces to continuity.' Here, too, since the words 'Oblation-carrier', 'the one', 'connected with the *ṛṣis*', are all shown in the accusative case, we understand that it is Agni, the fire, who is to be chosen.

So, too, the Brahmana-passage of the *Īśasaneysins* which deals with pravara clearly exhibits the same meaning:² "Next he chooses the one connected with the *ṛṣis*; and thus he makes him known in this matter to the *ṛṣis* and to the gods, thinking, "Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice"; he therefore chooses the one connected with the *ṛṣis*."³ The meaning is: 'The fire is connected with the *ṛṣis* because it is produced by the sacrificer, and the sacrificer is a descendant of the *ṛṣis*; that fire he chooses.' And in case there is doubt as to why he does so, the author adds the reason: 'He makes him, i.e. the sacrificer, known to the *ṛṣis* and to the gods, thinking, "Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice".' Since, then, the pravara has this purpose, he therefore chooses 'one connected with the *ṛṣis*'. Therefore, as far as the end of the pravara-chapter (one must understand that) the Āhavaniya fire is the object of the supplications by the pravaras of the Hotr and of the Adhvaryu, as being connected with such and such Vedic seers, as descendant, or like them. The *especial supplications* of the fire, according as they are distinguished by various Vedic seers to the number of one, two, three, or five, are called 'one-*ṛṣi* pravaras', 'two-*ṛṣi* pravaras', 'three-*ṛṣi* pravaras', and 'five-*ṛṣi* pravaras' (*ekāṛṣeyupracara*, etc.) respectively. But the explanation that *pravara* means the *choosings* (*pravaraṇām*) of the *ṛṣis* who are Vedic seers themselves, is not to be accepted.

But the objection is here raised, that if this explanation of the word *pravara* is taken, there are many Sūtras (which are to be quoted below) which contradict it. For example, all the authors of Sūtras will be quoted as saying 'The Adhvaryu from the near end chooses the more remote ones, the Hotr from the further end the nearer ones'. Now here (the objector says), the Vedic seers themselves, the *ṛṣis*, one, two, three, or five in number, are taken as the object of the choosing, because they are given in the accusative case (*ārdheān, ārvācān*), and the Āhavaniya fire is not. So, too,⁴ 'He chooses the Hotr who is seated with knees raised, with the words, "Agni the god is Hotr, may he sacrifice to the gods"'. Here, too, it is not the fire but the Hotr who is understood to be the object of the choosing. How then is there not a contradiction, so to speak, in this matter?

¹ *ārṣeyan* ṛṣite. On this, and the following quotation from the Śatapatha-br., see above, pp. 14f. The latter, however, is rendered here as Puroṣottama seems to have taken it.

² SB 1. 4. 2 = 1. 5. 9.

³ The phrase which follows here in the edition reads: 'This Brahmana-passage prescribes the Adhvaryu's pravara.' This looks like an unfortunate attempt on the part of a later interpolator to take Puroṣottama to task. But in fact the SB uses the same set of words to prescribe both pravaras, as Puroṣottama himself notes, below, p. 75.

⁴ ApSS 2. x6. 5. *ārdham* in Ed. is misprinted for *ārdheānām, devānām* for *devo*.

To this we reply: this is the objection of a man who does not know the context. For all the authors of Sūtras, immediately after saying: 'The Adhvaryu from the near end chooses the more remote ones, the Hotr from the further end the nearer ones', at once go on to give the pravaras of the Hotr and of the Adhvaryu: 'The Hotr chooses, "O Bhargava, Cyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jamadagnya"; the Adhvaryu, "Like Jamadagni, like Ūrva, like Āpnavana, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu".' Now here there is no question of taking the *ṛṣis* as the object of the choosing, since they are designated by a derivative form (*taddhita*); and in the case of the Adhvaryu's pravara, by use of the suffix *-vat*, meaning 'like NN.'. Therefore, to show that here, too, the fire must be pronounced the object of the choosing, we shall explain these sentences, so that there may be no inconsistency between what goes before and what comes after, or between one Sūtra and another. 'The Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones'—from the near end, i.e. from the point of view of the sacrificer, *having recited the names* (*samkīrtiya*) of the remote *ṛṣis* in the form 'like NN., like NN.', he chooses the Āhavaniya fire, because of its likeness to them. Similarly: 'The Hotr from the further end the nearer ones'—here too, 'having recited the names of these *ṛṣis*', the Hotr chooses the Āhavaniya fire, because of its relation to them as a descendant. In both cases the fire is to be understood. 'The Hotr who is seated with knees raised'—in this context the Āhavaniya fire itself is designated the Hotr.⁵ How is this?—because the rest of the sentence goes on: 'Agni the god is Hotr, may he sacrifice to the gods.' And a Brahmana-passage also shows the Āhavaniya fire spoken of by the word Hotr: 'Agni the god is Hotr', he said; he chose him who is of the gods. Thus the gods were victorious.' Thus the meaning of the word *pravara* is as we have explained it above.

And, moreover, these pravaras are either the same or different, the former where the Vedic seers, the *ṛṣis*, are the same in name, number and order; and those who pronounce them are called 'men of the same pravara' (*samānapravarāḥ*)—as for example in the case of the distinct gotras of the Śāvaris, Jivantis, Jābāhis, Atisāvanas, Varohityas, Avatas, Mandus, Mandavyas, Pracinauyogas, Markandeyas, etc., since they all have the same pravara; viz. 'Bhargava, Cyavana, Āpnavana, Aurva, Jamadagnya', the men belonging to these gotras are 'men of the same pravara'. Similarly with all the others. But 'men of different pravaras' are those whose pravaras differ in names, number, or order, in any one of these three ways, in two of them, or in all three.⁶

In this first Sūtra, then, the required explanation of all the pravaras without exception is promised.

¹ Here, too, Ed. has *ārdham*.

² Puroṣottama overstates his case. There is no doubt that the human Hotr is chosen as well as the fire.

³ TS 2. 5. 11.

⁴ Here again the case is overstated. 'Different' pravaras on this definition are not always sufficiently different to allow intermarriage. Cf. sūtras 10 and 11 below.

2. *The parties are those of the Seven Ṛṣis with Agastya as the eighth.*

All the Brahmins whose pravaras are here promised are 'parties' of the seven ṛṣis, viz. Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasistha, Kaśyapa, with Agastya as the eighth. 'Parties' (*pakṣa*), 'Families' (*vaṃśa*), 'Divisions' (*varga*), and gotras all have the same meaning.

The objection is raised: 'Why are the parties of Bhṛgu and Angiras not given here? For these also are later to be named alongside the seven ṛṣis.' To this we reply: they are not named here by way of making a distinction, because Bhṛgu and Angiras do not belong to the seven ṛṣis, as indeed is shown by the specification of the seven ṛṣis, and because the specification of the parties of Bhṛgu and Angiras is justified otherwise.

3. *Three parties of the Bhṛgu, viz. Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭisēnas, have five-ṛṣi pravaras.*

4. *Likewise four of the Angirases, viz. Kaumandāsa, Dīrghatamas,¹ Rāuksāyana and Gargas.*

5. *The Gargas have a three-ṛṣi option.*

6. *In the party of Viśvāmitra, the Pūranas have a two-ṛṣi pravara; the Śunakas and Vasiṣṭhas a one-ṛṣi pravara.*

7. *The others from here on have threefold pravaras.*

All others except those already enumerated, from Vatsa to Vasiṣṭha, that is, the others from Vihavya to Agastya, to the number of three *koṭis*, of whom we shall tell in the sequel, have three-ṛṣi pravaras. That this is the meaning is seen from its being expressed otherwise in other sūtras. A choosing by means of three is a 'threefold choosing' (*tripravaraḥ*); those who have this are thus *tripravaraḥ*, i.e. *tryāśeyapravaraḥ*, men whose pravara consists of three *ṛṣi*-names.² This is the meaning, as is seen from the mention of these, i.e. men whose pravaras have one, two, three, or five *ṛṣi*-names respectively (*ekārṣeya*, etc.) in other sūtras. Both these matters we shall tell in the sequel.

8. *Among these the Bhṛgu and the Angirases make a 'separate marriage' (bhinnarvāha), but not if the majority of the ṛṣi-names should be identical. This is the view of Baudhāyana.*

Of this sūtra two explanations are given. The first is as follows: among these gotras which have been enumerated, the Bhṛgu and Angirases, with the

¹ The manuscript tradition of the Baudhāyana Sūtra points to Dīrghatamas— as the name here; cf. Caland, pp. 413, 436. There is little doubt, however, that the correct form is Dīrghatamas. The difficulty is, of course, the expression *tripravaraḥ* which at first sight might be taken to mean 'men who have three pravaras', instead of 'three ṛṣi in their pravara'. In medieval times, it is true, *pravara* came to be used to denote a single pravara-ṛṣi; thus: 'The pravaras are A, B, and C', where the Sūtra-usage would be 'the pravara is A, B, C'.

exception of the Jamadagnis, Gautamas and Bharadvajas, although not separate inasmuch as they are Bhṛgu and Angirases, nevertheless make separate marriages. A 'separate marriage' is *as if it were* separate (as to gotra). Or else, a 'separate marriage' is one where the man and his marriage(-choice) are separate (as to gotra). Thus the meaning here is—just as men belonging to the parties of the seven ṛṣis and Agastya are separate one from the other as regards gotra, and leave their own party aside and contract marriages with other parties, i.e. with separate gotras, so also the Bhṛgu and Angirases (with the exception of the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvajas), that is to say, the Vihavyas, Śunakas, Mitravyas, Vainyas, Haritas, Kutas, Kaṇvas, Rathitaras, Mudgalas, Viṣṇuvrddhas, etc., even though not separate (as regards gotra) since they are Bhṛgu and Angirases, leave merely their own *gana* aside, and form marriages even with other *ganās* of the Bhṛgu and Angirases.

The alternative explanation is to make the word-division of the sūtra *bhṛganganāsaḥ bhinnarvāham kuruṣvate*, i.e. 'the Bhṛgu and Angirases make a "not-separate" marriage'. This means that the Bhṛgu, though 'not separate' inasmuch as they are all Bhṛgu, leave aside only their own *gana* and contract a 'not-separate' marriage even with members of other Bhṛgu-ganas. A 'not-separate' marriage means one between those who are not separate (as regards gotra). Similarly the Angirases. Here, since Bhṛgu and Angiras are not included among the seven ṛṣis, and do not have the gotras which belong exclusively to the parties of these ṛṣis, there is no question of 'belonging to the same gotra', and consequently marriage between their *ganās* is not blameworthy. For they have neither the same pravaras nor the same gotras. Thus the present sūtra allows for the intermarriage of the Bhṛgu one with another, and of the Angirases, inasmuch as they are not included among the descendants of the seven ṛṣis.

Here he gives a limiting condition: 'Not if the majority of the *ṛṣi*-names should be identical'. In the case of men with five ṛṣis in their pravaras, three constitutes a majority, as for example in the case of the Ārṣṭisēnas and the Bidas.¹ In the case of men with three ṛṣis in their pravaras, two constitutes a majority, as for example in the case of the Haritas and Kutas.² Those of the Bhṛgu and Angirases who are in neither of these two cases contract marriage one with another.

The word *Baudhāyana* is included in the sūtra to do honour to himself, just as in the Jaiminiya Sūtras.³ The view of Jaimini is, a procedure apposite to one ceremony should be negated, where its application would bring into operation a rule apposite to another ceremony'—here the word *jaimini* is used for a similar reason. The word *iti* marks the end of the chapter.

¹ Bhārgava, Cāvana, Āpnāva, Ārṣṭisēna, Ānupa. and 'Bhārgava, Cāvana, Āpnāva, Ānupa, Bada'.

² This is not a very happy example, since most of the lists give these two families identical pravaras; and in Apastamba, where they differ, only one name coincides.

³ Pūru-mimāṃsā, 12, 1, 7.

9. Now, the *Adhvaryu* chooses from the near end the more remote ones, the *Hotṛ* from the far end the nearer ones. This prescription is applicable to both throughout.

Immediately after instruction in the duty of *pravara*, he gives the order of succession in the words 'from the near end the more remote ones', for the reason that only when the order of succession is known is it possible for the *Hotṛ* and the *Adhvaryu* to perform the choosing of a number of Vedic seers, i.e. the supplanting of the fire. The meaning is: from the near end, i.e. from the sacrificer, having recited in order the names towards the more remote ones who are not separated from the founder of the family (*mūlabhūta ṛṣiḥ*) by any interposing hymn-composers, he chooses, i.e. supplants, the *Āhavaniya* fire as being related to these seers by likeness, saying: 'like NN., like NN.'—as in the case of the *Vatsas*: 'Like *Jamadagni*, like *Āruva*, like *Āpnavana*, like *Cyavana*, like *Bhṛgu*.' 'The *Hotṛ* from the far end the nearer ones': from the far end, i.e. starting from the *ṛṣi* who is the founder of his family, he recites the names of the Vedic seers who have come after, in the inverse order to the *pravara* of the *Adhvaryu*, and supplants the same fire, as being related to these as offspring, e.g. 'O *Bhārgava*, *Cyavana*, *Āpnavana*, *Aurva*, *Jamadagnya*.' Being thus supplanted by both, the fire comes to know the fitness of the sacrificer, and will give his oblation to the gods. Just as in the case of choosing, i.e. supplanting, the priests who are members of the sacrificial ritual, these priests when supplanted by the sacrificer will perform the members of the sacrifice, so, too, in the case of the choosing, i.e. supplanting of the fire by the *Hotṛ* and the *Adhvaryu*, the fire when supplanted by them carries the oblation to the gods. This difference in the orders of succession in the *pravaras* of the *Hotṛ* and the *Adhvaryu* is to be applied everywhere, as far as the end of the *pravara*-chapter.

10. In the case of coincidence of two *ṛṣis*, there is no marriage of those who have three *ṛṣi*-names in their *pravaras*; in the case of coincidence of three *ṛṣis*, there is no marriage of those who have five *ṛṣi*-names in their *pravaras*; marriage is with persons having different *pravaras*.¹

It has already been said above: 'The *Bhṛgu*s and the *Angirases* make a "separate marriage"', but not if the majority of the *ṛṣi*-names should be identical. The present *sūtra* deals with the majority of coinciding *ṛṣi*-names which is the cause of non-marriage of the *Bhṛgu*s and *Angirases*. The coincidence of two *ṛṣis* in the case of the *Bhṛgu*s with three *ṛṣi*-names in their *pravaras* is a cause of non-marriage, since the majority of *ṛṣis* is the same. And similarly for the *Angirases* such as *Haritas* and *Kutsas*, where two out of three coincide. Coincidence means being the same. So, too, in the case of *Bhṛgu*s with five-*ṛṣi*

¹ The phrase *asamānāpravaraṇaṁ svāhaḥ* looks like a direct quotation of *GautDhS* 4. 2, coming as it does somewhat discordantly in the present context. It does not occur in two of Caland's manuscripts of the *Sūtra*, and is probably an later interpolation.

pravaras—the coincidence of three is a cause of non-marriage, as in the case of the *Āṅgīṣeṇas*, *Vatsas* and *Bidas*. That this is so, we shall show in the proper place.

11. If even one *ṛṣi* recurs in the *pravaras*, that constitutes sameness of gotra, except in the case of a *gana* of the *Bhṛgu*s and *Angirases*.

Later in the work¹ he gives a definition of gotra: 'Viśvāmītra, *Jamadagni*, *Bharadvāja*, and *Gautama*, *Atri*, *Vasiṣṭha*, *Kaśyapa*—these are the seven *ṛṣis*; a gotra is said to be the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* with *Agastya* as the eighth.' But as for *Pāṇini*'s definition of gotra,² 'A gotra is a man's descendants from the grandson (son's son) onwards', and the fact that, since it has only the word 'descendants' in common with *Baudhāyana*'s definition, it must therefore be taken to imply the restriction 'of the seven *ṛṣis* and *Agastya*'—otherwise, by an unwarranted extension of the definition, one might conclude that even a *Candāla*'s descendants from the grandson onwards would justifiably be called a gotra: all this will come in the proper place for the commentary on *Baudhāyana*'s *Sūtra*.³

In conjunction with that *sūtra* defining the nature of a gotra, the present *sūtra* lays down a definition of what is meant by 'sameness of gotra'. The meaning is: if even one *ṛṣi* recurs, either as being recited or implicitly,⁴ in the *pravaras* of the gotras of the seven *ṛṣis* and *Agastya*, i.e. the gotras which owe their title to the fact that they are made up of the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and *Agastya*, numbering three *kotis*, which we are to deal with in the sequel—*pravaras* of one, two, three or five *ṛṣis*: one must know that identity of gotra is predicated of all these gotras.⁵ That is to say, all those who mention in their *pravara* the name of any one *ṛṣi* of the seven *ṛṣis* and *Agastya*, or two or three, or five *ṛṣi*-names in common—all these belong to the same gotra. Here he makes this limiting restriction: 'except in the case of a *gana* of the *Bhṛgu*s and *Angirases*.' This means, except a *gana* of the *Bhṛgu*s, excluding the *Jamadagnis*, or of the *Angirases*, excluding the *Gautamas* and *Bharadvājas*. The word *gana* in the singular is used collectively, of a class, i.e. excepting the *ganas*, etc. One must know then that among the *ganas* of the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and *Agastya*, 'sameness of gotra' is defined by the recurrence of one *ṛṣi* in the *pravaras*. But because the *Bhṛgu*s and *Angirases*, always excepting the *Jamadagnis*, *Gautamas*, and *Bharadvājas*, are not technically gotras, since they are excluded from the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and *Agastya*, there is, therefore, as far as they are concerned, no question of 'sameness of gotra'; for such an identity requires that the validity of the expression *gotra* be established first. With this in mind, he has made the exception—'except in the case of a *gana* of the *Bhṛgu*s and *Angirases*'.

¹ Below, p. 203.

² *Pāṇini* 4. 1. 162.

See below, p. 206.

³ See *Brough*, *BSOS* xi, p. 308.

⁴ It is precisely this ambiguity of the term *gotra* which seems to have been responsible for the introduction of the exogenous determination by *pravara*, see above, pp. 4 ff.

But, it is objected, when there is no validity (*prāpti*) in any case, how can it be an 'exception'? For surely an exception requires that in the first place it must be valid.

Granted that this is so, still (it is necessary to make the exception here) otherwise that 'validity' (i.e. the judgement that the Bhṛgu and Angirases are in fact gotras) might be granted as a result of careless thinking. How so? Seeing the Vatsas, etc., who are descendants of the seven *ṛsis* and Agastya, using the word *gotra*, and not grasping the distinction wherein lies their claim to that title, the Mitrāyus,¹ Śunakas, Haritas, Rathitaras, Mudgalas, etc., who are excluded from the seven *ṛsis*, also use the word *gotra*—as, for example, 'I belong to the Mitrāyu-gotra'.² Therefore, with an eye to this sort of 'validity' (of the expression *gotra* in such cases), which results from careless thinking, he makes the exception—'except in the case of a *gaṇa* of the Bhṛgu and Angirases'.

(This is the *prima facie* view; in reality, however) the exception does not require the validity, because of the principal of syntactical unity, as in the injunction: 'At sacrifices (i.e. main offerings) he uses the phrase *ye yajāmahe*, at the after-offerings he does not use the phrase *ye yajāmahe*': here also, because of its being a syntactical unit, it is pronounced an *exception*, in the definition of the negation of a rule: 'In reality, because it is a supplementary statement, the second phrase should be taken as an *exception* to the former; in the case of a *prohibition* it would result in an option'.³

But in the case of the three, Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvājas, although they are Bhṛgu and Angirases, yet since they are also included in the descendants of the seven *ṛsis* and Agastya, the term *gotra* is justified in their case, and therefore 'sameness of gotra' is applicable. For this reason the exception does not apply to them. And Baudhāyana himself shows later on in the work that this is the meaning of the exception, in the three sūtras: 'There is no intermarriage between the Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas'; 'There is no intermarriage between any of the Gautamas'; 'There is no intermarriage between any of the Bharadvājas.' But with reference to those who are excluded from the descendants of the seven *ṛsis*—viz. Vithavyas, Śunakas, Vadhryasvas, Vanyas, Haritas, Kutsas, Kanvas, Rathitaras, Mudgalas, Visnuvddhas, etc.—the three sūtras above have been given: 'The Bhṛgu and Angirases make a "separate marriage", but not

¹ Ed. *mitrayu-va*.

² Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, commenting on ĀŚS xii. 10. 1, calls the use of the term *gotra* by the Mitrāyus, etc., an *aspadārikah parāmārśaḥ pratyakḥ*, a metaphorical usage arising from ratiocination.

³ This contains a recollection of Pūru-mīmāṃsā, 10. 8. 1-4. The argument there concerns the status of such negations as *nānyayajeta yajayājñam haroti*: The *pīrvaopakya* in that it denotes an option, since the use of the phrase has already been prescribed in the general rule *yajñeta yajayājñam haroti*. The *siddhānta*, which Pūruṣottama's text gives here in a mutilated form, is *api tu vākyajñam yajñānyayajeta viśvāparā vidhānāni bhavedaḥ syāt*. 'In reality, it should be taken as a supplementary statement, because of the impropriety of an option: it should be considered as part of the injunctions.' It is thus an exception, and not a prohibition, since the latter would permit the illicit deduction that an option was allowed.

if the majority of the *ṛsi*-names should be identical'; 'In the case of coincidence of two *ṛsis*, there is no marriage of those who have three *ṛsi*-names in their pravaras'; 'In the case of coincidence of three *ṛsis*, there is no marriage of those who have five *ṛsi*-names in their pravaras.' The word *iti* marks the end of the chapter.

B. Āpastamba

We shall explain this section in accordance with the views of the commentators on the Sūtra of Āpastamba, etc.¹ Dhūrṭasvāmī, Kapardisvāmī, Gurudevāsvāmī,² etc.

1. *We shall explain the pravaras.*

2. *'He chooses the one connected with the ṛsis; he does not depart from the connection; and so it conduces to continuity'—thus is it known.*

He chooses the one connected with the *ṛsis*, i.e. related to himself as a descendant of the *ṛsis*; or, the one who is connected with the *ṛsis*, i.e. the Āhavaniya fire which is a descendant of the *ṛsi*, since it was produced by the sacrificer and the sacrificer is in the line of descent of the *ṛsi*—that fire he chooses, i.e. supplicates, since it is of his gotra. This being so, he does not depart from the connection, i.e. he does not lapse from the relationship with the *ṛsi* of olden times. And, moreover, it conduces to continuity, i.e. to continuing the line of his ancestors and himself.

3. *'Not by gods, not by men does he choose; but by the ṛsis he chooses the one connected with the ṛsis—thus is it known.'*

Moreover, it is known—i.e. this is heard in another *sākhā* of the Vedas: not by gods, e.g. Prajapati, etc., does he choose the one connected with the *ṛsis*, and not by wise men, e.g. Devadatta, etc., but by *ṛsis* only, i.e. Vasuṣṭha and the other seers of Vedic hymns.

4. *'He recites the āṛṣeya in due order; for by means of the ṛsi the gods learn about the man—thus is it known.'*

By means of the *ṛsi* who was praised by men of old and renowned among the gods, the gods learn about the man who is the descendant of that *ṛsi*, thinking, 'as his descendant, his sacrificial food may be enjoyed'.

5. *'But if a man chooses by means of the āṛṣeya of another, that ṛsi takes the offering and the enjoyment—thus is it known.'*

If a sacrificer is of one gotra, and makes the pravara-invitation by means of the *āṛṣeya* of another gotra, that *ṛsi* seizes the offering, i.e. the fruit of the sacrifice, and the enjoyment, i.e. the fruit of entertaining Brahmins, etc.

¹ *āpastambādī*, presumably to include Hiranyakeśi.

² So P1; Ed. *gubhādi ar. am.*, P2 *gubhādi ar. am.*—Long sections of Pūruṣottama's text here are in fact taken unaltered from Kapardisvāmī.

6. *Three he chooses; authors of hymns he chooses; according to (his own) ṛṣi does he choose authors of Vedic hymns—thus it is known.*

Authors here means seers, since it is not permissible to conclude that these hymns were composed, because, if they had been, the inference would be that they were not eternal. These seers of Vedic hymns he chooses according to whichever ṛṣi is his (ancestor).

7. *Now, the opinion of some is: he chooses one, two, three, not four, and not more than five—thus it is known.*

Now, it is heard in the Scriptures of the adherents of certain *sākhās*: he chooses one *ārṣeya*, i.e. having recited the name of one ṛṣi he chooses the fire which is his descendant. Similarly with two and three. Four he does not choose; and six and over he does not choose. The meaning is: the fact of having been a seer of Vedic hymns is specifically prescribed above as the requisite qualification for being included in the *ārṣeya*-formula. Therefore, since the choosing without restriction of number of one's hymn-seeing ancestors would otherwise be legitimate, they for this reason delineate in the present sūtra the prohibition of choosing four or more than five. Since the sūtra, 'He chooses one connected with the ṛṣis', has already prescribed the choosing, the authors of Kalpa Sūtras, seeing that the three sentences: 'He chooses one; he chooses two; he chooses three', prescribe in addition the number, have had recourse to this passage of Scripture as an authority. The previously quoted passage: 'Three he chooses, authors of hymns he chooses, etc.', gives only the prescription for the choosing of three.

Now, the reverend teacher, learned in sacrificial rules (Jaimini), in defining competency to sacrifice, in his sixth chapter, with reference to the present sūtra has described this competency in the rule: 'The person who does not have three ṛṣis should be excluded (from the competency)';¹ since he considered that, of the other sentences in this sūtra, one denoted merely the commencement ('he chooses one'), one was a partial declaration ('he chooses two'), and one was a prohibition ('not four, not more than five').² But because the authors of Kalpa Sūtras are many, and because of the fact that they are composing practical treatises, whereas Jaimini is a single authority—and where there is a conflict of opinion between many and one, the opinion of the many is to be followed—for this reason those who seek the practical view have followed the authors of the treatises on Vaidik practice.

¹ Pūrva-mīmāṃsā 6. 1. 43. The phrase in brackets does not appear in the Mīmāṃsā text.

² This explanation appears only in the commentaries to the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras. Śaṅkaravāmin takes the choosing of one and two as an analysis of the choosing of three into its component parts, so that the rule of choosing three would thus be stated twice.

8. *The Adhvaryu chooses from the near and the more remote ones, the Hotṛ from the far end the nearer ones—thus it is known.*
9. *A king makes the pravara-invitation (pravṛṇite) by means of the pravara of his purohita—thus it is known.*

The purohita of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya is so called because he, being in front (*purah*), leads that anointed Kṣatriya or Vaiśya. Such a man must be one who offers the *Darśi-homa*, and must be endowed with high birth, knowledge, good conduct, and other good qualities. By the pravara of this man, then, an anointed king makes the pravara-invitation. And because of the statement here, in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices, even a Brahman who has attained kingship makes the pravara-invitation by means of his purohita's pravara.

(Colophon: ... end of the Paribhāṣā section ... of Āpastamba and Satyāśāḍha, etc.)

C. Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi

1. *Now therefore we shall explain the pravaras.*
2. *On this matter there is a Brāhmaṇa-passages: 'He chooses the one connected with the ṛṣis; he does not depart from the connection; and so it conduces to continuity.'*
3. *He chooses one, two, three, not four, and not more than five.*

The Brāhmaṇa-passages which deal with the choosing of the *ārṣeya* in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices has already been quoted and explained above in the comment on Baudhāyana's Great Pravara-section: 'Next he recites the pravara of ṛṣi-names, etc.'¹ In explaining the meaning of this passage, Kātyāyana² has spoken as follows: "'The wise and knowing one", he says; he recites the *ārṣeyas* (*ārṣeyāṇa*) of the sacrificer, as, "like Manu, like Bharata, like NN., like NN."—three, from the further end the nearer ones; or else as many as are hymn-composers.' The scriptural passage which is the source of the view: 'Three, from the further end the nearer ones', has been quoted above, viz. 'Three he chooses, authors of hymns he chooses, etc.' He now quotes here from another *sākhā* the passage which is the origin of the view: 'As many as are hymn-composers', viz. 'He chooses one, two, three, not four and not more than five'. This passage, which we have already discussed in our commentary on Āpastamba, means: he who has only one hymn-composer in his ancestry chooses that one; similarly for two, three, and five. But he who has four, or six or more, does not choose these numbers even if he has them. And that those who have such and such a number (one, two, three, or five) should not choose less or more, the authors of Kalpa Sūtras are guarantors, in the absence of other (i.e. Brāhmaṇa) authority. It has already been stated above how the authors of Kalpa Sūtras rely on this passage as an authority.

¹ ŚB 1. 4. 2. 3; above, p. 60.

² KŚS 3. 25ff.

4. *However, the view of some is: in each case he chooses the āṛṣeya as 'Mānava, like Manu'—an āṛṣeya which is common to all the varṇas. Why so? Because the peoples are Mānavas (humans).'*

The word *however* puts forward another opinion. The *some* are the adherents of the Tāṇḍin School of the Chandogya. The Hotṛs choose a one-ṛṣi pravara, 'Mānava', the Adhvaryus choose, 'like Manu'—this pravara which exists among all the varṇas he recites. Alternatively, the sentence is to be completed by understanding the words 'so they conduct their worship', i.e. 'some, the adherents of the Tāṇḍin School, choose thus'. He asks the reason for the choice of this one-ṛṣi Manava-pravara—'why so?' (*kaśya hetoh*), i.e. 'from what cause?' (*kuto hetoh*)—since the genitive is mentioned in the traditional learning in the sense of the ablative, in the sūtra: 'Genitive in the sense of causal connection.'¹ The reason is, 'because the peoples are Mānavas', i.e. since Manu is the first origin of all peoples, and another Brahmana-passage says 'He chooses one', therefore the peoples choose him alone. These members of the three higher varṇas, who alone have the right to a pravara, who have birth (*jāti*), competence to sacrifice, wealth, and who are not excepted by the Śāstras—these are to be considered to be connoted by the word *peoples*.

To refute this view of the Tāṇḍins, he quotes another Brāhmaṇa-passage:

5. *But this is not legitimate; not by gods, not by men does he choose the āṛṣeya; by ṛṣis only does he choose the āṛṣeya.*

This Brāhmaṇa too has been explained in the commentary to Āpastamba. Moreover, by reasoning also do learned men refute the Tāṇḍin view. For on this view there would be no intermarriage between the three higher varṇas, since they would all have the same pravara. The consequence of marriage would be a mixing of the varṇas (*varṇasamkara*); and since (in the alternate case) there would result a sin equal to violating one's teacher's wife and begetting a Caṇḍāla, utter destruction would be entailed, by reason of the loss of Brahmanhood.

6. *If a man chooses the āṛṣeya of another, the blessing of his sacrifice goes to that other; he indeed is severed from plants, trees, pitṛs, ṛṣis and men, who chooses others.*

If a man, having a particular āṛṣeya, makes the pravara-recitation by means of the āṛṣeya of another different from his own, the fruit of that sacrifice goes to that other, i.e. the other alone enjoys it. Moreover, he is severed, i.e. cut off from the fruit of sacrifice which is brought about by gods, ṛṣis, pitṛs and men.

Now, to avoid making the rule of the Tāṇḍins authoritative, he makes it applicable to a different case:

¹ TS 5. 1. 5. 6. See also TS 1. 5. 1. 3, *śaśmān mādanyāḥ prajāḥ*.

² Pāṇini 2. 3. 26.

7. *But this rule is valid for people other than Brahmins and Kṣātriyas.*

The Tāṇḍin rule is unexceptionable when applied to people other than Brahmins and Kṣātriyas, i.e. to Vaiśyas. For here the fault of having the same pravara does not arise, since for Vaiśyas there is no necessity for avoiding (particular persons in marriage), this being as it were a partial relaxation of the rule. Because of the identity of the pravara of their varṇa, viz. 'Vātsapri' for the Hotṛ, 'like Vatsapri' for the Adhvaryu, the fault of having the same pravara clearly applies to Brahmins alone. Hence it is with reference to Brahmins alone that the pravaras of the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu, of one, two, three, or five ṛṣi-names, are to be explained.

He now deals with the difference in order when more than one are to be chosen:

- 8a. *From this point onward (ita evordhvam) it is the Hotṛ who recites the pravara-invitation, and following him (anvay it) the Adhvaryu:—thus Kātyāyana.*
8b. *The Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones (ita et ordhvān), from the far end the nearer ones the Hotṛ.*

This is the only difference in Laugākṣi's text; all the rest is the same.

First Kātyāyana. From here, i.e. after having enunciated the duty of pravara, onwards, the Hotṛ makes the pravara-invitation of Bhṛgu and the other seers of hymns, as: 'O Bhṛgava, Cyavana, Āpnavana, Aurva, Jamadagnya.' Following him the Adhvaryu. The Adhvaryu makes the recitation following the order of the Hotṛ's pravara. The word *ita* shows that the order is precisely the same—as: 'Like Bhṛgu, like Cyavana, like Āpnavana, like Ārva, like Jamadagni.' So, too, the Brāhmaṇa-passage of the Vajins which prescribes the Adhvaryu's pravara says: 'He makes the pravara-recitation from the remote end hitherwards.' And Kātyāyana himself says: 'He recites the āṛṣeya (āṛṣeyam) of the sacrificer, three, from the remote end hitherwards.'

Now the explanation in the case of Laugākṣi's reading.³ 'From the far end, the nearer ones the Hotṛ' is the same as Kātyāyana and the others, the distinction lying in the words: 'From the near end the more remote ones the Adhvaryu.' In contrast to the Hotṛ's pravara, the Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones, beginning at the end, as far as the ṛṣi who is the founder (of the family), as: 'Like Jamadagni, like Ārva, like Āpnavana, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu.' Here all the teachers have the same order for the pravara of the Hotṛ; all except Kātyāyana have the same order for the Adhvaryu's pravara, but Kātyāyana gives the same order for the Adhvaryu's pravara as for the Hotṛ's.

¹ ŚB 1. 5. 1. 10.

² KṢ 3. 25.

³ All three sources have the most extraordinary confusion in the following passage. The sense must be as above. For 'ita evordhvam hotṛ' of the manuscripts, I have read 'amuto 'rvāco hotṛ' and for 'amuto 'rvāco hotṛ (P) 'dhvayur ity atra videsah',—'ita evordhvān adhvayur ity atra v.' In the following line also, 'amuto 'rvāco 'dhvayur pravṛtte' must be changed to 'ita evordhvān adhv. pravṛtte'.

D. *Āśvalāyana*

The explanation follows the views of the commentator Devasvamin.

1. 'All should be of the same gotra' is the opinion of *Gāṇagāri*; for how (otherwise) could there be *Āpri* hymns, how the Fore-offerings?¹

The Śrauta sacrifices have already been described (in *Āśvalāyana's* Sūtra), ending with the *sattras*. In the course of these the *pravaras*, for each separate gotra of the Brahmins, whose gotras number three *koṭis*, have been prescribed as a duty: 'He chooses the *arṣeya*, he chooses one... not more than five.' The plurality of sacrificers in the *sattras* is given by inference by the plural endings of the verbs 'sit' and 'approach' in such passages as: 'Desirous of prosperity they sat down at a *sattra*', and 'Let them approach', and directly by the number in the passage: 'Twenty-four at most should sit down at a *sattra*'. And among a plurality there can be either men of the same gotra or men of different gotras. This being so, the doubt arises with regard to those entitled to take part in a *sattra* as to whether they should all be of the same gotra or of different gotras. Here the teacher *Gāṇagāri* was of the opinion that they should all be of the same gotra. Here one should compare *Baudhāyana's* definition of gotra: 'Of the seven *ṛṣis* and *Agastya*, if only one *ṛṣi* is repeated in the *pravaras*, that constitutes sameness of gotra, except in the case of a *gana* of the *Bhṛgu*s and *Angirasas*.' Considering then in his mind gotra and sameness of gotra, and having stated the case in the words: 'All should be of the same gotra', he gives the reason—'For how (otherwise) could there be *Āpri* hymns, how the Fore-offerings?'

The meaning is: the *Āpri* hymns are ordered according to gotra—'Kindled is *Agni*' for the *Śunakas*, 'Rejoice in our fuel-log' for the *Vasiṣṭhas*, 'Kindled to-day' for all (the others).² So also, 'The *Nārāśansa* is the second fore-offering in the case of the *Vasiṣṭhas*, *Śunakas*, *Atris*, *Vādhryasvas*, etc.' Since these, then, are ordered according to gotra, and are thus prevented from proper performance on the view that the worshippers should be of different gotras, therefore, they have their correct performance only on the view that they are of the same gotra.

The objection is raised: Why should the fore-offerings and the *Āpri* hymns not be repeated (in the forms severally required) as is in fact the case with the *pravaras*? No, we reply, since in the case of men of the same gotra, the act can be successfully performed without repetition, and since there is no repetition in the ceremony which serves as a model (*prakṛti*); and therefore the same should hold good here. We shall have more to say below about the case of the *pravaras*. Moreover, if there were a repetition according to gotra, the result would be

¹ Müller (*Hist. Anc. Samh. Lit.* p. 467) gives the startling explanation that *Gāṇagāri* 'endeavoured to prove from the fact that one and the same *Āpri* hymn may be used by all, that all people belong really and truly to one family'.

² This is a literal quotation of AŚS 3. 2. 6. The hymns are respectively RV 2. 3; 7. 2; 10. 110.

a confusion of the order of the constituent parts of the rite: since the order is fixed, in which they perform the functions of householder, *Brahmā*, *Udgātṛ*, *Hotṛ*, *Adhvaryu*, and sacrificer. This (*prima facie* view) being therefore established, he now gives the correct view (*siddhānta*).

2. 'They may also be of different gotras' is the view of *Śaunaka* because of the universality of the ritual acts.

This means, they may be also of different gotras and not necessarily of the same gotra. Why? Because of the universality of the ritual acts (*tantra*). By the word *tantra* is meant the application of the mantras in regard to the principal ceremony with its subsidiary parts. This universality results from the fact that 'at a *sattra* they should desire the fruits of wealth, prosperity, heaven, etc.'; and here the universality refers simply to 'men' (and not to 'men of the same gotra'). If, by way of illustration, we adopt the hypothesis that the prescription is to be restricted to reference to 'men of the same gotra' only, then we should have to assume that the right to perform the principal rite was similarly restricted, without any verbal indication of the fact. And this is not proper. It is, however, faultless in another connection, which he now proceeds to describe:

3. Those which are different follow (the mode of ritual proper to) the gotra of the householder; the benefit of all follows on his benefit; but the *pravaras* should be repeated (according to the several gotras), since they have the right to (separate) fires (*āvāpas*).

Those which are different, i.e. the *Āpri* hymns, etc., which were cited by *Gāṇagāri* to uphold his thesis, are to be performed according to the gotra of the householder, since he is the chief person. This is seen from expressions such as: 'With him at their head they sat down at a *sattra*', and from *Āpastamba's* phrase: 'All are to perform their first sacrifice; or else that of the householder alone (is to be performed)'; and 'They are to proceed according to the mode of ritual of the householder, in respect of the *Sāmidhenis*, the cutting of the sacrificial cake, and anything else of a similar sort.' With these two sūtras he shows that these acts which are different according to gotra follow the gotra of the householder, and therefore there is no obstacle. But, it is objected, if subsidiary parts of the rite are performed according to the householder's gotra, those for whom such parts were wrong would not obtain the fruit of the acts. To remove this doubt, he says, 'the benefit of all follows on his benefit', that is, the others obtain the fruit of the acts following after the fruit attained by the householder, since he is the chief person.

But when men of different gotras are sacrificing, the *pravaras* are to be repeated according to gotra. Why so? Because they have the right to *āvāpas*, i.e. because they have the right to the *pravaras*. The word *āvāpa* means the *Āhavanīya* fires, since (oblations) are cast into them: compare the expression 'they should offer

together into the fire'.¹ The meaning is therefore: 'Because of the right of these Āhavaniya fires in respect of the pravaras.' And it is proper that these pravaras should be severally repeated, according to which person happens to occupy the chief position, since those taking part hold that position successively in the various constituent parts of the rite.

But, it is objected, does this not contradict what has been said above, namely, that differences in ritual usage should be resolved by following the usage of the householder's gotra? No fault, however, arises here, since the essence of the pravaras is to inform the Āhavaniya fires by the recital of names related as offspring to the seven ṛṣis; and it has already been shown above in the commentary on Bauddhāyana that when informed by the pravaras, the Āhavaniyas bear the oblation to the gods. Now, if in the present instance, only the pravara of the householder were used, and not those of the other sacrificers who happened to belong to, say, the Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, or Atri gotras, then their Āhavaniya fires would not be informed, and would not carry their oblation to the gods. To accomplish this end, therefore, it is proper to repeat the pravaras separately, according to the Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, or Atri gotra, etc. Moreover, the householder's Āhavaniya is not the Āhavaniya of the others, just as his son is not their son; for the word 'Āhavaniya' equally with the word 'son' expresses a relationship. For this reason, if a man's own Āhavaniya is extinguished, he does not perform an oblation in the Āhavaniya of another. For this reason also substitution for the Āhavaniya is prohibited in the sixth book (of the Mīmamsā Sūtras),² in the chapter on substitution: '(There is no substitution allowed) in the case of the deity, the fire, the word, the action, because (a substitute for any of these would be) related to a different purpose.' Thus, it is correctly said that in the case of men of different gotras, the pravaras are severally repeated. The question then arises, whether men of the same gotra should also severally repeat their pravaras in such circumstances. Some hold that since no 'difference' is in question, the pravaras should be performed according to the normal rule. Others support the repetition, on the grounds that men of different gotras are separated in this matter; and also because the result of a single pravara-recitation, where they each hold the position of sacrificer in turn, would be a defect in the order of the rite. So, too, Āpastamba:³ 'One view is that, because men of different gotras are separated, men of the same gotra should also repeat their several pravara-recitations.'

¹ Puraṣottama gives two alternative etymologies, which, however, both result in the same meaning: *upānta* ity *āvāpā āhataṇṭyā* 'agmm samāvapeyuh' iti *ācanat*; *atha* *ā*, *upānte* *haviṃsy āhataṇṭyey* ity *āvāpā āhataṇṭyāh*.

² *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*, 6. 3. 18; cf. *ĀpŚS* 24. 4. 1: *svāmīno 'gner devatītyāḥ lobdāt karmaṇaḥ pratigedhāc ca pratimidhir nivṛttāḥ*.

² ĀpŚS 21. 3. 4. The Sūtra continues: *vyavete 'pi tantram evety apāram*, 'The other view is that in spite of this separation, the rule holds good.'

CHAPTER II

THE BHRGUS

A. *Baudhāyana*

FIRST we shall explain those of the Bhrgus:

1. [Vāṛṣya]	10. Śaunakāyaṇā	19. Vaiśvānaraya
2. Mārkaṇḍeya	11. Madhukēyaḥ	20. Vaihānaraya
3. Māṇḍūkēya	12. Pārīkūḥ	21. Vīroḥitā
4. Māṇḍavyāḥ	13. Sāṅkālā	22. Bārḥā
5. Kāṇva	14. prāṇṭīyaṇāḥ	23. Gauṣṭhāyaṇā
6. Ālekhaṇā	15. Pailā	24. tyaṣṭeṣyaḥ
7. Dārḥāyaṇāḥ	16. Paṇigāyaṇā	25. Kāḍakṛtāṇā
8. Śārkarākṣyā	17. dādhrēṣaya	26. vāḡbhūṭāyā
9. Daivatāyaṇāḥ	18. Bāḡhāyayo	27. Rṭabḡhā

1 In Ed. only; D *jarnadagnyā vataāḥ*; the name is out of place here, occurring as it does at the end of the list, and is clearly a heading borrowed from the other lists.

3 So A, M, G, Bu, Caland māṇḍukā, S mādhakā, T māṇḍakā; P2 mā' vyā; Sk omits.

5 So G, T, Ed., R; M kāmasya; Bu kāmasya;
Rm, Be, U, D; kāmasya; P₂ kāmasya; P₁
kāasya; D₂ kāsirā; Sk in place of this and the
following, pailāb paṅgalāyanāb, cf. 15 and 16;
after this name P₂ adds kāmasya.

6 P: larecană.

7 Cf. Pap. 4. 1. 102; M. Bu darbh-

8 So P₁, Sk, R, S, M, T, Bu, Be, U; cf. *gapa garā īdī*, Caland, G, 1.1, P₂, D -kṣā, Caland wrongly reports R as reading -kṣā.

⁴ So Bu, U, R, Sk, Rm; P: *daiveta*(ṛ)yaṇa; others, *devapṭīyaṇa*, *daivapṭīyaṇa*. But see Index.

10 Cf. Part 4, I, 103.

11 So D₂; Ed., P₂, D₁, Rm, mādhu-; M, G, Sk, S, Caland māṇḍūkeyāḥ; Bu māṇḍūkeyā; T omits; cf. mādhuḥ in Śatapatha-Br.

12 So Ed., M, G, Bu, R, P₂; P₁, D₂, S
vārṣika; D₁ pārṣika; Sk vārṣika; T omits.

13 So B, Be, U (joined, however, with the following. sāmka-), P₂, R sāmkaḥ, P₁ sāmkaḥ; Ed., S sām only. Sk. Akām.

14 So Bu (Caland reports vrā-, but, noting that Bu is a *grantha* manuscript, it is an easy mistake for prā-); Caland compares *gana arādi* 115: 591, Ed. Pz. D *prabhavanāḥ*; Pz *prāḥavanāḥ*, Rm. Sk *prātṭayana*, R *prāk-tavanāḥ* s *tathāvanāḥ*; Be. U *ghnāntavana*, M. G *ghrāntavana*.

16 P r paṅgalāḥ yaṇāḥ; S paṇḍyanā.

17 So M, G, T, R Caland; Bu dādṛēšayab; Be dādṛēšakākyo; U, Ed., D: dādṛēšakayo; P: dādṛēšayā (?); R dādṛēšayo; S: rādṛēdyakayo; D: rādṛēsthakib; Sk dādṛēšakāb; S dādṛēšakayo; Rm dārḍvhešakayo (v.l., dādṛēšakayo); one might possibly conjecture dādṛēšayo, or dādṛīcayo (from dadyaśc, the latter being regularly found with the patronymic ātharvaya, while the form dādṛīcāb is given by the *PośBr*, as a patronymic to Cvavane).

18 ba- and va- indiscriminately; S omits;
after this name, Sk adds payah in a correction.
19 P -naravsu: Sk varivatar.

20 See M. T. R. P. Ed., 1

P₂ vaihinatsayo; Sk vaihitari; Be, U vaihitarsayo; Bu vaihtinarth; G vaihtinarayo; S vaihtaksayo.

21 D₂ virodina: D₁ vilohitah.

22 So M, P₁ (vā-), D₁; G barhā; Bu barbhāḥ;
Ed., Sk, Be, U bāhā; R bāhā; D₂ vahva (?);
after this name, Sk adds vṛddhāḥ, Rm brādhno
(v.l. bādhrā); P₁ vrādhra, D₂ brādhra.

23 B, Caland gauṣṭrāyaṇā; P₁, D₂ goṣṭhāyana;
Sk, D₁ goṣṭhāyana; Ed, R gaubjāyana; P₂
gaujvāyana; Be, U kaukāyana.

24 So B; Caland conjectures aışteşayah; S yaştaısakıyo; Be, U, P₁ ş(h)aikeyā; Ed., Pa, R şukıyah; Sk şıkapā; D₁ seşih; D₂ tikiñ.

25 Ed., P₂ kṣa-; P₁ kṛasākṣanā; D₂ kārāt-
kṣṇa; R saikāsākṣanā.
26 So Caland, G, T; M vātthū-; Bu vār-

kabhū-; Be, U, bāhūtaka; P₁, D₁, S, Rm
vādbhūtaka; Ed, Dz vādbhūtaka; P₂ vāhū-
taka; R vādūtaka; Sk vādbhūtaka.

27 Pz, R, Sk, Rm, D: kpta-; Be, U kpta-.

1. Śunakā
2. Gartsamada
3. Yajñapayah
4. Saugandhayah

5. Khārdamāyana
6. Gangayana
7. Matsyagandhās
8. Cauśāh

9. Śrotiryaś
10. Tatturiyāh
11. tpalpulā it

These are Śunakas. They have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Śaunaka', etc.; or else 'Gartsamada' for the Hotṛ, 'like Gartsamada' for the Adhvaryu.¹

B. Āpastamba

First we shall explain those of the Bhṛgu.

The Jāmadagnya-Vatsas have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnāvana, Aurva, Jamadagnya', etc. But some give a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Aurva, Jamadagnya', etc. Now this pravara belongs, without alteration to

1. Sāvartī-
2. Jivanti-
3. Jāmāya-

4. Aitīdāyana-
5. Vairohitya-
6. Aṣṭa-

7. Maṇḍu-
8. Pracinayogyānām

The Ārṣṭisenas have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnāvana, Ārṣṭisena, Ānūpa', etc. But some give a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Ārṣṭisena, Ānūpa', etc.

1. Vīṭahavya-
2. Yāsaka-

3. Vādhola-
4. Mauna-

5. Maukāh

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Śavedasa', etc.

3 C. Sk yajñapatayah; D yajñapāṭi; S yapayah; all the others yajñapatayah; Caland compares this with the "Laugākṣitṛa" (i.e. P's reading for K & L.); see the readings noted on pp. 92, 93. D inverts nos. 2 and 3.

4 So A; M, T sapayah; G saupayah; B saurbhākyah; S saumayah.

5 So all (D a khārdamāyana) except G, which has kārḍ-, cf. the other lists.

6 So B (but Bu gāhā-), S, D; Da, Ed gārbbhāyanāh (both with dental); Pa gāgāyanāh; P; gārbbhāyanāh; R, Sk gārbbhāyanāh; D; adda gārbbhāyanāh; Pa, Be, U add after no. 7, gārbbhāyanā.

7 D; mā-; P; masya-; D; matsa-.

8 Only in B, S, Be, U; with D; svaajyah; Da svaajyah; cf. the other lists; after this name, Be, U have caitriyah (ditto-graphy of following); 10 So A (Da, Pa -riya; R omis); M, G, T

tittiriyah; Bu ittiriyah; S tittiriyah.

11 So T, G; M, D; pāpūla; Bu spātūpūla; Be pāpūla; U vippālā; S pātūla; D; pāpūla; A omis. (Caland's citation of R and Sk is out of place, and belongs to the K. & L. list, as he surmised.)

3 So Pa, D; Ed.; P; jāmāya; Garbe, ChRao jābāya; D; jāmāpa- jābāya might be taken to correspond to jābā, Bauh (Vatsa, no. 63 g.e.), but it is more probable that we have here the same family as in Bauh. Bidas. no. 13. Note how Āpastamba comprises under the one head of Jāmadagnya-Vatsas families which the other lists distribute between the two separate groups of Vatsas and Bidas. D adds here the curious remark: *bhṛgved ity ekapravara ity āpastambāh*, thus showing that its source was defective.

The Gartsamada-Śunakas¹ have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Gartsamada', for the Hotṛ, 'like Gartsamada' for the Adhvaryu.²

The Vādhryasva-Mitrayus³ have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vādhryasva' for the Hotṛ, 'like Vādhryasva' for the Adhvaryu.⁴

The Vainya-Pārthas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha', 'like Pṛthu, Vena, Bhṛgu'.

Thus these Bhṛgu have been explained.⁴

C. Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi

First we shall explain those of the Bhṛgu:

Mān.

1 Bhṛgavo

2. Jāmadagnayo

3. Vatsā

4. Dārbbhir

5. Nāḍāyanā

6. Vāḍāyanā-

7. Ānuśātaki-

8. jayhati-

9. Paṭa-

10. Śaunakāyani-

11. Jivanti-

12. Kāmbalodari-

13. Vāhinari-

14. Vairohitya-

bhṛgūn evāgre vyākhyāyāmo

1. ...

(2. Jāmadagnya

(3. Vāṭayā

4. ...)

5. ...} (See below, after no. 44)

6. ...

7. ...

8. Ānuśātaki-

9. jvāhati-

10. Paṭa-

11. Śaunakāyani-

12. Jivanti-

13. Kāmbalodari-

14. Vāhinari-

15. Vairohitya-

1-3 of course form a heading for the whole family, the Vatsas being a subdivision of the Jāmadagnya (or, as in note 1 below, in apposition to them), while the latter are a subdivision of the Bhṛgu.

4 Cf. Bauh. dārbbhāyana.

5 All the sources here, nāl- (but Matsya, nād-); cf. Paq. 4. 1. 99 (nāḍāyanā), and gaṇa 15. 75 (nāḍāyana).

6 Pa. vāg-; S. vād-.

7 Sk अनुशानक्यी (nc), Pa -anāśātaki.

Rm. anuśātakayo.

8 So P; Ed., Sk D; Pa jālati, D; Rm anamati, R jayhati-ṛṣṭayah

9 Ed. paṭa; Pa paṭa.

10 So Pa, cf. Bauh.; P; -nirp; Ed. śaunakā-kāryāna.

11 Da jivanta; R jivatsayah.

12 So Ed., P, R, Sk (P; and R -val-).

13 So P; Pa, Ed. vāhinari; R, Rm, Sk, S vāhiyāna.

14 So Ed., Pa; P; -tā; R, Sk, D omis.

Man.

3 vatsya.

9 paṭu

11 jāimanti.

12 kārṣṇodari.

13 vāhiṣāhimati

14 vairohe.

¹ In the original, both names are nom.pl., but it seems much more likely that they are to be understood in apposition rather than as denoting two separate branches of the family. In a very high proportion of the families thus denoted by two names, these two names also occur in the pravara, the remaining pravara-*ṛṣi* being the eponym of the major gotra.

² The words in *hotṛ*, *ity adhvaryuḥ* appear in Āpastamba's text only in the case of these *oneṣṭi* pravaras, as Puruṣottama observes, p. 101.

³ Ed. mitrayasah, Pa, Garbe, mitrayatāh. None of the sources give the correct (Pāṇinean) form, mitrayasah, see above, p. 83.

⁴ Ed. omits this sentence.

¹ Bu alone reads, interestingly, *gartsamadānām ekhṛṣeyah gartsamudeti hotṛ*, etc. (omitting vā) but there seems to be no reason for assuming two groups within the gana.

Mān.

15. ĩrekhyāyani-
16. Pārpati-
17. Vaiśvanari-
18. Vairūpākṣi-

19. Pārṇili-
20. Vrkāśvakānām
21. Uccairmanyu-
22. sātyakarni-

23. Vaiśtapureyi-
24. Valāki-
25. Taulakeśinām

26. Rtabhāga-
27. Ārtabhāga-
28. Mārkaṇḍeya-
29. Maṇḍu-
30. Māṇḍavya-

31. Māṇḍūkeya-
32. Ājithi-
33. Ātithināp
34. t̥saumāṅgori-
35. Sthaulapīṇḍi-
36. t̥saukhabarhi-
37. Śārkarākṣi-

15. ĩlekhyāyani-
16. t̥vaiśaki-
17. Vaiśvanara-
18. Vairūpākṣi-
t̥paukaśerājānām
19. Pārṇili-
20. Vrkāśvakānām
21. Uccairmanyu-
22. Savarni-
22a. Vaimiki-
t̥ścalanāp
23. Vaiśtapureya-
24. pālāksi-
25. Taulakeśinām
t̥asam
26. Rtabhāga-
27. Ārtabhāga-
28. Mārkaṇḍeya-
29. Maṇḍu-
30. Maṇḍavya-
vibhāṇḍaka-
31. Māṇḍūkeya-
32. t̥
33. t̥sarcanāmāp
34. t̥spenamadhbhūti-
35. Sthaulapīṇḍi-
36. t̥śaiśāpatya-
37. Śārkarākṣa-

15 So all, except Da, revāyatib; Pa saukhyāni;
S reśyāni; note the dental -n-; cf. possibly
ślekha, Baudh. (the final -s of P's reading
in no. 14 in that case would belong here.)

16 So R, Sk; P: pārpati; Ed., D: pārpati;
Da parkhati; S śaryati; Pa yaryati.

17 P: -nari.
19 So P, R, Sk, S; Ed. pāṇili; D: pārṇalib;
Da pārṇalib (sic); possibly pāṇini in

Baudh. belongs here.
21 Restored from Baudh.; Ed., P, R, Sk, Rm
uccairmanyā; D: rucamāna; Da rudrāyamāna.

22 So Ed., P, R; Sk sāsa-; D: sāpta-; Da
sātyakapi; P: omits 22-33 and adds them in
a second hand in margin.

23 Pa vaiṇṇapurepi (cf. Matsya).
24 D bā-; R vālikeya-.

25 Ed. -keśinām; Pa -kaśinām; Da -keśob;
Sk -kecinab; R -keśina.

27 Pa ārtabhāgava.
29 Ed. maṇḍa.

32, 33 So Sk; Rm ājitha atchayab; Ed.
ājithatithināp; Pa ājithatithināp; P: jithatithi-
nām; D: ājithitib; Da ājithatib ātithapiti;
R agnibhā atchayab.

34 So P; S: t̥saumāguti; Ed. t̥saumāgeuri;
Sk t̥saumāngiri; R t̥saumā girayab; D:
t̥saumāguri; Da māngirib only; Pa
t̥saumāngiri.

35 So S; all the others, sthāula (Sk sthola)
only; cf. the other lists.

36 So Ed.; P: saukhāvahir; R saukhāvahir;
Sk saukhāvahir; D: saukhāvahir; Da
saukhāvahir. Pa sauśābarhi

37 So P; Ed. sa-; Pa karkarākṣi

Mān.

17. vaiśvāmara
18. vairūpākṣi.
19. pārṇili.
20. vrkāśvakānām.
21. uccairmanyū.
22. taulakeśinām.
23. rtabhāga
24. mārkaṇḍeya.
25. sthulapīṇḍa.
27. ārkṣa.

Man.

38. Devamatinar
39. Ārkāyana-

40. Āhavyana-
41. Gāṅgāyana-
42. t̥gelyāyana-
43. Gosthāyana-
44. Vaisampāyana-

45. Śārgharava-
46. Gālava-
47. Cānūkeya-
48. Vaukarni-

49. Sāṅkṛtya-
50. Atisāyanānām
51. Yājñeya-
52. Bhṛāstṛeya-
52a. Bhṛāstṛeya-
53. Lākṣeya-
54. Lakuci-

38. Devamatinar
39. t̥āyana-
t̥ārcāyana-
40. Āhavyana-
41. Gāṅgāyana-
42. ... (Cf. end of list, p. 89.)
43. ...
44. Vaisampāyana-
Vāyavyāyana-
t̥audumtāyāyana-
t̥saurayī-
4. Dārbi-
5. Mālayana-
45. Śārgharava-
46. Gālava-
47. Cānūkeya-
48. Vaukarni-
śaunakarni-
śaundakarni-
49. Sāṅkṛtya-
50. Atisāyanānām
51. Yājñeya-
52. Bhṛāstṛeya-

53. t̥kṣmālā
and t̥
54. ...

38 Cf. gaps 110. 9.

40 S kahlāyana; perhaps read kahlāyana, cf.
Baudh. no. 55.

41 So P; R, Ed. gārbyāyana (but Ed. with
dental -na); R, Sk gāṅgāyana; D gārbyāyana;
cf. Mān. and Baudh. no. 60.

42 So R, Sk, D; Ed. goh-; Pa kātyāyana;
P: omits.

43 So Sk, R, D; Da -t̥yā-; Ed. -t̥yā-;
Pa -t̥yā-; P: gōṣṭāyana; read gōṣṭhāyana?
cf. Baudh. no. 23.

45 So P; Ed. sārgharava; S ārkṣa; cf. Pāp.
4. 1. 73.

46 So P, D, Sk, R; Ed. gaulava; Pa gālā-
varbyāyana-gobyāyana-sarkarākṣi

47 So Ed., Pa; Da vāp-; D: vān-; P:
vāṇakeva, S vāṇakava; Sk, Rm (misplaced
after no. 49) vāṇakavah, vāṇakeva

48 So P, Ed. t̥saumā S saumā
49 So Ed., P, D, R, Sk (making the word-
d. son wrong) sāmkr̥tyab.

50 So Ld., D, R, Rm anikāyana; P: it̥ k̥āyā-
nānām S amikāyana, anikāyana appears
alongside anikāyana in gap nadāti, and would
seem to be the archetypal reading here, but it
is virtually certain that the name must corre-

spond to anikāyana in the Baudh. list. In both
places, it is tempting to read anikāyana (cf.
Kaus. Br. 30. 5; Alt. Br. 6. 33), who is no
doubt meant, but the spelling anikā- had clearly
become fixed in the pravara-lists at a very early
date.

52 So Ed., Sk, Rm, R, D, P; Da -t̥yā-;
P: bhāst̥yā only.

52a So Ed., Sk, R, Da, Pa; D: bhāst̥yā;
Rm bhāst̥yā; P: st̥yā only; this name (if
indeed not mere dittography), is presumably
simply an alternative spelling of the preceding.

53 P: lekṣyā.
54 So P, R, Sk, Da; D: lāpūb vi-; Ed.
lākūhici; P: lēyālālici.

Man.

4. dābhi.
46. kālava.
47. cānūkeya.
48. and the two following names appear with
the singular ending, -ib
49. sāṅkṛtya.
50. nāṅsāyanānām.
51. yājñeya.

Mān.

55. Lalāpi-
56. Pārimāṇḍalinām

57. Mālayana-
58. ṭavagauvi
59. sauṣmikinām
60. Paingalāyana-
61. Sātyakāyana-
62. Kaucahasti-

63. Cāndramasa-
64. Ānulomi-
65. Kauṭilya-

66. Caukṣa-
67. Krauñcākṣi-
68. Kamsa-
69. Śāradvati-

70. ṭvadyāpalepaya
71. Naikarṣi-
72. Śākalya-
73. Uṣṭrākṣi-

55. ...
56. Pārimaṇḍalāyana-
ṭalundhu-
krausti-

59. saudhakinām ṭ
60. Paingalāyana-
61. Sātyakāyana-
62. Kaucahasti-
ṭkovaḥumdim-
sāṃkhyāmutra-
cāndramutra-

63. Cāndramasya-
64. Ānulomi-
65. Kauṭilya-

[Sāunakāyana] (displacing
nos. 66, 67, cf. no. 10 above)

68. Kāṃpsya-
69. Śāradvata-

- ṭmaudgadyo-
70. ṭvādyālehreyi-
71. ṭnimithi-
72. Śākalya-
73. Uṣṭrākṣi-

55 So Ed.; Pa, Sk, D; P: lalādi; R lalāpi.
56 So Ed.; Pa pālī; R pāriyomāṇḍ; P: ṭḍalinām.

57 S -ni.
58 So P; Pa ulaṇḍyī-avigauvi; Ed. atigauvi;
D: avih gauvi; D: avirgauvi; R avayo
gauvayab; Sk avapa āgāvapa; Rm āvaya
āgāvayab; S āviro.

59 P: saūsa kānām.
60 So Ed., Pa; P: paipalāyana; S paingalā-
yana.

61 After this name, R repeats nos. 52-4 (last
as lakub).

62 So S, Sk; P: kocahasti; Ed., Pa kauvaha-
hasti; D: kocahasti; D: kocadasti; R kauva-
hastayo.

64 Ed., Pa -laumi; Sk, R anulomīn-; P: -ān-
nolomi; D anulomih.

65 Conj. cf. Mān., Matsya; S kauṭi only; Ed.
kauṭi; P: kaucau; Pa kauha (or kauḍi);
D, Sk krauñca; R kauḍā.

66 So R; Pa cauksu; Sk cauksa; Ed. cakṣu;
S śauksī; P: D omits.

67 So Ed., D, S, Sk; P: kriauc-; Pa kauc-;
D: kraucā; R krauvikṣayab.

68 So P, S; Ed. takes half with the preceding,

half with the following name -ākṣikānām
śāradhvajī; rest omit.

69 Restored; D: śāradvanib, Ed., Pa, R, D: S
śāradhvajī; P: mārdhvajī; Sk saurab-
dhajī.

70 So Ed.; S vāṭisālepayā; P: vādhvāpale-
payā; Pa vāghāleṣṭapaya; D: vāghāleṣṭab; D:
vāghāleṣṭab; R yamvāleṣṭab; Sk vāṭyāt-
keṣṭab.

71 So P, Sk, D; Ed. narvarṣi; D: naikarṣib;
R naikarṣayab; S nekarṣi; Rm, Sk misplace
nos. 71-8 between nos. 61 and 62.

72 So P, R, Sk, D: D: śāthakalms; Ed.
śāthakṣi; S śātkalya; Pa inserts before this
name, krauñca (7)kibubhā.

73 S āṣṭrākṣi.

Mān

- 60 paiga-
64 anulomi.
65 kauṭi
69 śāradvata
72, 73 śākalistrākṣo

Mān.

74. Vākāyana-
75. Anumati-
76. ṭjaikṣijihvi-
77. jaihmāṣmanaya-
78. āṣmakrama-

79. nirāqi-ṭ
80. Vāsi
81. Mādana-

82. ṭsyopa-
83. Syandani-
84. Kātheraṇi-
85. Lāveraṇi-
86. saugoli-
87. Kāśākrāna-
88. Mādhyodā iti

74. Vākāyany-
75. Anumati-
76. ṭjaihmāṣama-
77. śokajihva-
78. ātmadamanī-
(84?) vāṭāra-
79. kirāpi-

81. mājanāti-ṭ

87. Kāśākrāna-
(82?) ṭauṣu-
(83?) arucato-
trāna-

- vaihkāri-ṭ
Śaukrāyapaḥ
ṭāḥkrūh
Śākatāyana

43. Goṣṭhāyana

42. ṭgolāyana
ḍākvayānāṭṭi iti,
(Pravara as in K. & L.)

'These have no intermarriage. They have a five-ṭṭi pravara, 'Bhargava, Cyavana, Āpnava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya', etc.

Mān. adds:

vāda nimathitā teṣām pañcārṣeṣa pravaro bhavati bhārgava cyāvanāpnāvāna vaida namatheti hoti nimathitavā vidadva apnavānavac cyāvanavā bhṛguvād ity adhvaryub.¹

74, 75 Doubtfully conjectured from Mān. (and
cf. Mats. a) Ed., D: R pākānumati, P:
pākānumati, P: pākānumati, S: pākānumati.

76 So Ed., Sk; S jaiṣṭhijihvi; P: yakajidvi;
Pa jaiṣṭhijihva; D: jaiṣṭhijihvi; D: jaiṣṭhijihvi;
jihmih (r belongs to previous word, in spite of
the vaarga); R jaiṣṭhijihva.

77 So Pa; Ed. vaiṣya-; P: jaiṣṭhijihvi; D: jaiṣṭhijihvi;
māyāni; Sk jaiṣṭhijihvi; R jaiṣṭhijihvi;
S jaiṣṭhijihvi.

78 So Pa, D, S; R -ād-; Ed. āṣmakramāni;
D: āṣmakramāni; P: yajama; S kṣema.

79 So P, Ed., D; R nirāqi; Sk, Rm nirā-
qi; S nirāqi.

80 D: vākṣi; D: joins this with the next
name.

81 Conj.; Ed., P: māḍāna; S māḍāna;
D: māḍāna.

Pa, R: sāḍāna; D: sāḍāna; Sk: sāḍāna; D:
śāḍāna.

82 So Ed., P, D, R; Sk: syopa; S: syāpa.

83 So Ed., Sk, R; D: Pa: spandati; P: datī
only; S: syundati; D: syavajih.

84 Restored; cf. gāṇa gāḍā; Ed., R, Sk: kate-
; S: d: kate-; D: kave-; Pa: kate-; P: kate-.

85 Cf. gāṇa gāḍā; Ed., Pa, Sk: lave-;
R: bhavē; P: D: gāve-; D: S: omits.

86 So P, Sk, R; D: Ed. saugoli.
87 Ed. kṣaa-.

88 S, R: mādyodā; Sk: māndhyodā.

Mān.

- 74 vākāyany.
87 kṣāyākrāna-
43 goṣṭhāyana.

In the adhvaryu's pravara, nimathinavad.

¹ D. R have (ai) (or ban) jata namathitavoh tayaṇa namathiteti Sk cyavanamithiteti
tayaḥ... vajiravana mithiteti. D, with the Nirṇaya-sindhu and the late Dharma-sindhu, give in
addition the Śāthara-Mātharas (pravara, Bhārgava, Śāthara, Māthara), which the others include
among the Viśvāmitras, &c.

ādvadhāyanā mauṇyānās teṣāṃ tryārsasya pravara bhavati bhārgava cyāvanāvadhyyeti hotāvadhya vac cyavanavadvhguvad ity adhvaryuḥ.

Mān.

1. atha jamadagninām
2. Prācinayogyāḥ
3. Paulastya
4. Vaidabhytāḥ
5. Krauñcāvanā
6. Abhayajātās
7. ttraukiyānā
8. Avajā

9. Bhṛājatā ity

1. atha jamadagninām
2. Prācinayogyāḥ
3. Paulastya
4. Vaidabhytāḥ
5. Krauñcāvanā
6. Abhayajātās
7. ttraukiyānā
8. Avatah
tśākaminā
bhālvāsayo
bhārgavā ity

(Pravara Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Aurva, Jamadagnya', etc.

The Vātsyas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna', etc.

W

1. tbbhrgvāndipā
2. Mārgapathā
3. Grāmvyānir
4. Adhvanakāsir
5. Āpastambir
6. Bhālvih

1. ...

2. ... thā
3. Grāmvyānir
4. tapyatekasi
5. Āpastambir
6. tbbhāri

Mān.

1. bhraudheyā
2. Mārgapathā
3. Grāmvyānir
4. atha naukasī
5. Āpastambir
6. tbbhūli kārpi

4 Cf. Mān.: Pa vadebhytāḥ; Dī, Ed., Sk vedabhytāḥ, P vedabhytātāḥ.
5 Pz krauc-
6 Da bhayajātās; S abhayajātās.
7 So P; Ed., Pa, Da, Rm -nā (dental); Dī krauñcāyanā; S krauñcāyanā (dental)
8 So P; Ed., Sk, D bhṛāja (all sg.) ity; after this name, Sk bhṛādantyaḥ vaikyānāḥ bhṛjāyanāḥ; Dī bhṛādantyaḥ vaikyānāḥ bhṛjāyanāḥ; Dā mādasa śaikāyano bhṛjāyanā.

4 So Ed.; P -pīr; Pa -dir; S adhvanakāsir; Rm naukasir; R naukasir only; Dā naukasir only.
5 R ādastavir; P nyastavir (first syllable blotted); Dā opastavir.
6 So R; Pī bhālavi; Pa bālhi; Ed. brāhāt, S dhalpū kāmī; Rm vālmī; Dā bhalbhī(?)

W

3 grāmānyāpā.

Mān.

1 So P, R, Dī; Ed. bhrgavedivā, Pa gavedi only; Dā bhrgvāndipā, S bhrgavedivā, Rm mrvāndipā, D, surpasindivā, says that nos. 1 and 2 have the Bida-pravara according to Kātyāyana but are Ārṣṭisena according to the Matsya
2 D mārgapathā, P, R -yathā.
3 So S; Ed., -nir (dental); P -dir

5 kroñcāyanā.

- 2 madrapathā.
- 3 grāmvyānir.
- 5 -bi.

W.

- 7 Kārdamāyana-
8. Ārṣṭisena-
9. Gardabhaṣa

7. Kārdamir
8. Ārṣṭisena-
9. Gardabhaṣa ca

Man.

7. Kārdamir
8. Ārṣṭisena-
9. Gardabhaṣa

ātāpatthi ity (nc)

10 (A)nūpā ity

10. Anūpā ity

These have no intermarriage. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣṭisena, Ānūpā', etc.

- 1 Khālāvanāḥ
- 2 Śākutikā
- 3 Maitreyā
- 4 atha śāmcaryo
5. Draunyanā
- 6 Raukyāyanā

- Āpīśāvanāḥ
- Kāpīśāyanā
- tñaropāyanā

- Āpīśāvanāḥ
- Kāpīśāyanā[h]
- ...

5. raudrāyanā-
1. -śvalāyanā
3. Maitreyā
4. tñaropāyanā
5. raudrāyanā
6. Raukyāyanā

5. Draunyanāḥ
1. Khālāyanā[h]
3. Maitreyā
4. tñaropāyanā
5. raudrāyanā
6. Raukyāyanā

7. Āpīśalā
8. tñaropāyanā
9. Hāpīśāyanā ity

7. Āpīśalā
8. tñaropāyanā
9. Hāpīśāyanā ity

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vadhryasva, Daivodasa', etc.

- 1 Vātahavya-
2. Yāśka-
3. Vādūhā

- 1 Vātahavya-
2. Yāśka-
3. Vādūhā-

1. Vātahavya-
2. Yāśka-
3. Mādūhā-

7 R kārdamir; Dā kārdamirāyanāḥ.
8 S -senir.
9 S, Pa gardabhaṣir.
10 P ānūpā; R ānūpā ca; Dā anupa.

After no. 2, Pī inserts (from the Baudh. Buda) kāmā ity ato (read etc) vidāḥ teṣāṃ parikarṣeṇa pravara bhavati, bhārgava cyāvanāpnavānauśva vadeit

8 So Dī; Dā pāṭha-; Pī pāri-; Pa āhi-; R ādi-, Ed., S āhi-, Rm āhi-.
9 So P, D, āsa-, S āsa-, Dī āsa-; Dā, R, Sk āsa-; after this, Pa has by ditto-graphy, āhi-ānāḥ hāpīśāyanāḥ.

3 Pī vādūhā; Ed. vādūhā.

W

- 8 ārṣṭisena.
- 7 āpīśalā.
- vidhryā ity.

2 pāśka (Weber, incorporating the first syllable of the next, wrongly suggests pāśka-
takasi.

- 7 -mir.
- 9 garbhā.

Mān.

- 5 draunyanāḥ.
- 1 khālāyanāḥ.
- 7 āpīśalā

¹ This pravara really belongs to the Vātsyas, cf. A. & L., and a lacuna has evidently occurred in the text. Note that the Matsya text agrees with Mān. in this.

	W	Mān.
4. Mauna-	4. Mauna-	4. ...
5. Mauka-	5. Mauka-	5. Mauka-
6. Jivantyāyana-	6. Jivantyāyana-	6. Jivantyāyano
7. Arthalekhayo	7. tṣupya-	7. tathale-
	7. vāleya-	
8. Bhāgaleya-	8. Bhāgaleya†	8. Bhāgaleya-
9. Bhāgavijñeaya-		9. Bhāgavijñeaya-
10. Kauśāmbeya-		10. Kauśāmbeya-
11. Vrkāśvaki-		11. Vrkāśvaki-
12. tṛmadoki-		12. tṛmadāhi
13. Bāleya-		13. ...
14. Gaurikṣita-		14. Gaurikṣita-
15. Dairghyacita-		15. Dairghyacita-
		15. tṛvāleyam
16. Pañcālava-	16. tṛpānyacata	16. tṛpāñcadhanā
17. Pauspāvatāra-	17. prodaḥavāś itit†	17. Pauspāvatā itī
18. Modāyana itī		

Pravara: Bhārgava Vaitahavya Sāvedhasa (but W has savaśasav in the Adhvaryu's).

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Sāvedasa', etc.

	8. Gārtamadāḥ	8. Gārtamadāḥ
1. Yājñapeyaḥ	1. tṛyājñavaca-	1. tṛyājñavaci
2. Saukarā	2. Saukarī	2. Saukarīḥ
3. Matsyagandhāḥ	3. ...	3. ...

4 So S; Ed., Pa mādhdūna; Rm, Sk mādhdolāḥ; R, P, D: mādhdūla; Da mādhdutvo.

5 So S, P; P, Pa; Ed. maudga; R, Sk, Rm mausulb.

6 So Sk; R śrīvāntyaśabbhāśvedas; Ed. śrīvāntyaśa; P: śrīvāntyaśa; Pa śrīvāntyaśa; S yāntyaśa.

7 So Sk, R; Pa arthalekhir; Ed. arthalekhāḥ; P, D: arthalekhiḥ; Da 'rthalo; S arthalekhi; after this Pa adde śmagalekhi.

9 Pa bhānga-; P: bhāgavijñeaya; rest omit.

11 So P, Sk; R dṛkāmākayo; D: vṛkāmākāḥ; Da vṛkāmāhi; Ed. vṛkāmāvi; S vṛkāmāvi; Pa vṛkāmāvi.

12 So Ed., P, D; S kadoki; Sk madho khadho; R mado vayo.

13 Conj. Pa pravāreya; Ed. vāreya only; P, D: cāreya; D: mañcāreyaḥ; Sk rathāḥ; R vatpā; S yāreya. Cf. Baudh.

14 Rm gaurikṣita; rest, gauri-; S gaurikṣita.

15 So Ed.; P: dairghya-; Pa, S dardhya-; R dairghyavita; D, Rm dairghyacitāḥ; Sk vaidyārvitāḥ.

16 D: yacālāvah.

17 So Pa, S; Ed. paumāvatāra; Sk pauspāvatāḥ; P, R pauspāvatā; D: pāyavātāḥ pauspāvatāḥ; Da pāyavātāḥ pāpāvatā; Rm pauspāvatā.

18 So Ed., Pa; R gaud-; rest, god-.

1 So P: Ed., Pa tṛyapeyaḥ.

2 So all (except Pa saukārā); but presumably the name ought to correspond to Baudh.'s saugandhi.

3 Restored, cf. Baudh., Matsya; Sk paśagandhāḥ; Da māśagandhāḥ; all the others, māśagandhāḥ.

5 mautya.

6 jamañtāyana.

2 sokārī.

Mān.

5 maudga-

6 tvitāśyano.

8 bhāgāḥ.

9 bhāgavite.

10 kauśāṭpi.

11 vṛkāsāki.

14 kaurikṣi.

15 daurgavitar.

8 gūrchamadāḥ.

2 sukārī.

	W	Mān.
4. Kārdamāyanāḥ	4. Kārdamāyanā rījavādhavyāḥ	4. Kārdamāyanā rījabādhavyāḥ
5. Caukṣāḥ	5. Caukṣāḥ caurāḥ	5. Caukṣāḥ corāḥ
6. Śrotiriyāḥ	6. Śrotiriyā(h)	6. Śrotiriyā(h)
7. Prativāśā	7. tṛprativā itī	7. prativāśā
8. Gṛtsamadāḥ	W gives also an additional alternative, Bhārgava, Sauna-	ityete śunakā ity eteṣāṃ, etc. Pravara = K. & L.
9. Śunakā itī	hotta, Gārtamadā.	

These have no intermarriage. They have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Gārtamadā', etc.; or a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Gārtamadā', etc.

Both W and Mān. give in addition the following three families:
vatsapurodhasānāṃ pañcārṣeṣaḥ pravaro bhavati bhārgava cyāvanāpnāvanā¹ vātsa paurodhaseti hotā purodhasavad vatsavad apnavānavac cyavanavad bhrguvad ity adhvaryuḥ.

vedaviśvājyotiṣā teṣāṃ tṛyārṣeṣaḥ pravaro bhavati bhārgava veda viśvājyotiṣeti hotā viśvājyotsavad vedavad bhrguvad ity adhvaryuḥ.²
pārthavainyānāṃ tṛyārṣeṣaḥ pravaro bhavati³ bhārgava vainya pārtheti hotā prthuvad venavad bhrguvad ity adhvaryuḥ.

D. Āśvalāyana

The Jamadagnya-Vātsas have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnāvana, Aurya, Jāmadagnya'.

But those who are not Jamadagnyas⁴ have 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnāvana'

	W	Mān.
4 Ed., P kard-; Da kārdāyano.	4 kard-.	
5 So Ed., P; P, D: Pa āvukṣā.		
6 P: tṛyā.		
7 So Ed., Pa, R, Sk; P: praśāṣṭāḥ; Da pratyusyo.	4 kāda-	
9 In S only	5 (ā)vukṣāḥ.	
	6 śrotirī.	
	pūtenūakā ity eteṣāṃ, etc.	

¹ Mān. omits to this point, and also omits apnavānavac cyavanavad from the Adhvaryu's pravara. The reading of W is supported by Sk, R, D, and the Nirṇaya-sūndhu.

² So D, Nirṇaya-sūndhu, Dharmasūndhu; D, however, gives them at the very end of the Bhṛgu, after the usual prohibition of intermarriage, so that one may suspect that they have been interpolated. D, moreover, attributes the family to Kātyāyana.

³ W pārthavacāśvānāṃ, and in the pravara, pārthaveti; Mān. pārthavetānāṃ, and in the pravara, caurya, pārthaveti, rest not.

Mān. places these three families between the Yaśkas and the Gṛtsamadā-Sunakas, W between the Ārṣiṣas and the Mitravya-Vaidhryāśvas. They are given at the end here merely for convenience, and their correct place remains uncertain.

⁴ So Ed., ChRao, Bāḥlā, atha hāṣm-; Berl, P athāha jān-; in place of this paragraph, VudhPar has vatsa-irvatsaryo ca tathava.

gana and another. And it is not proper that one person should have different pravaras without a special ruling to that effect. Also, in the world, the same name, Devadatta for instance, belongs to many persons. Again, where a single name in one and the same gana is read by such and such a Sūtra-author in a form which differs (from the other Sūtras) in number length and order of syllables, or in any one or two of these ways, a single person must be considered to be meant, since in spite of the partial difference it is still the same name—according to the maxim: 'That which is altered in a part does not become something else.' We shall therefore explain the gotra-sections already given and those to be given in the sequel on the assumption that they are all the same, that is to say, a name which occurs in one account is the same, because of sameness of pravara, as one which occurs in another account (if the difference lies only in) the addition, alteration, transposition or interposition of sounds.

First we shall explain those of the Bhrgus. Because of the pre-eminence of Bhrgu, this pre-eminence is seen from the passage: 'Of great *ṛsis*, I am Bhrgu',¹ and from the mention of Bhrgu in the Mōksa-dharma (in the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*) as a part of Vasudeva. Thus: 'We shall explain the Bhrgus, who are first'; or else the phrase is intended to show that they did not become Bhrgus afterwards only, by reason of adoption (*deyānuṣṣṛyānataḥ* ena), since the *deyānuṣṣṛyānas* are given later. Since the ganas and pravaras are here self-explanatory, they need not be further explained.

The *Jāmadagnya-Vatsas*. The Vatsas are here qualified as Jāmadagnis so that they shall have the fivefold cutting of the sacrificial cake, since Āpastamba says: 'The Jāmadagnis have a fivefold cutting.' 'The Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭeṇas have no intermarriage; they have a five-fold cutting': this shows that the prohibition of marriage already given is to be inferred also in the Sūtra (of Āpastamba) which prescribes the fivefold cutting. Here, these three ganas have no intermarriage, because three of the five *ṛsis* in their pravaras coincide. And those of the Vatsas and Ārṣṭeṇas who have an alternative three-*ṛsi* pravara have no intermarriage, since two *ṛsis* coincide. This rule has already been given above.

The other ganas, Yaskas, etc., avoid their own gana in marriage, because of identity of pravara, and intermarry with all those already mentioned and to be mentioned hereafter, since there is neither identity of gotra nor of pravara. Thus, marriage and non-marriage of the Bhrgus has been explained.

The Sūtra-authors give four pravaras for the Śunakas, viz.: 'Śaunaka', 'Gārtśamada', 'Bhārgava, Gārtśamada', and 'Bhargava, Śaunahotra',² Gārtśamada'. Scholars debate the question whether these are alternative pravaras. Some think that it is a question of free choice.³ Others think that it is a 'fixed

option', that is to say, that the alternatives are to be allocated according to the arrangement of families. Now what is this arrangement of families? They say: there are four kinds of Śunakas, differing one from another. Some are descended from Śunaka alone; some from Gṛtsamada alone; others, from Gṛtsamada, the son of Śunahotra, the son of Bhrgu. Thus, they are united only in the matter of the name 'Śunakas', but are really distinct families; and these four pravaras belong to the separate families.

But why, it is asked, can the matter not be ordered thus: Bhrgu's son was Śunaka, his son was Śunahotra, his son was Gṛtsamada, and his son was Śunaka, thus making a single family? This is not proper. Why? Because it is forbidden by Satyasādha, who says: 'The Adhvaryu chooses three, one after the other (*anantarān*), from the near end the more remote ones, etc.' The commentator Matradata explains the word *anantarān* as 'with no other hymn-composers interposing between them'. In the present case, if there were only one family, there would be hymn-composers interposing. Therefore, as we have said, it is a 'fixed option'. In this way also the alternative pravaras of the Gargas, Haritas, Kanvas, Rathitaras, and Śāṇḍilas, etc., are to be explained by difference of families.

The Bhrgus have been explained. This explicit repetition is used (by Āpastamba) to confer the status of Bhrgus on the Śunakas and Mitravys, in whose pravaras the name Bhrgu does not occur, thus justifying their inclusion in such cases as the Bhrgu's establishing of the fire according to the *ṛsi* (*yatharṣyādāhnam*), or 'A Bhārgava is Hotṛ'.

Now, it is asked, why do Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi repeat for each separate gana the phrase 'these have no intermarriage', instead of saying it once for all: it would have been fitting; and in accord with the principle of verbal economy, to say, as Gautama does: 'Marriage is with persons having different pravaras.' Those who are learned in the history of the descent of the pravara-chapters give the following refutation: seeing that in the *Matsya Purāṇa* the Blessed Viṣṇu in the form of the Fish says after every gana: 'These have no intermarriage', Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi, who received their text from that source(!), say the same thing. Others say: Baudhāyana and the others say that there is no marriage with members of the same gotra, but do not prohibit those who have the same pravara; and it is to emphasise the latter prohibition that they repeat it after each gana. Still others say: by dint of much repetition (the reader) must come to know it. Others again say: it is simply the practice of these two Sūtra-authors; for surely different people have different practices. So, for example, Baudhāyana, although he says in his first chapter: 'From the near end the more remote ones the Adhvaryu, from the far end the nearer ones the Hotṛ: this prescription applies throughout', nevertheless with no fear of prolixity, says after every gana 'for the Hotṛ', 'for the Adhvaryu'. Similarly, Āpastamba, etc., in the case of the one-*ṛsi* pravaras of the Vasiṣṭhas and Śunakas, etc., says:

¹ Bhagavadgītā 10, 25.

² Ed. throughout this discussion, Śaunakahotra, Śunakahotra.

³ Literally 'like the case of rice and barley'—where either is equally good.

'for the Hotṛ', 'for the Adhvaryu'. So also, Āśvalāyana gives the bare pravara throughout, and nothing else. Thus, this is merely the practice of Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi. Still others say: just as a person of the same gotra is nearer akin than one of a different gotra, so one of the same gaṇa¹ is still nearer than one merely of the same gotra, since, being descended from the same ṛṣi, he is equal to a brother; and just as marriage in the wider gotra is prohibited as being sinful, so also, in order to show that it is still more sinful within the gaṇa, they give the prohibition after every gaṇa. Still others, wise in their own conceit, perversely explain the meaning to be that *these* (mentioned) may not marry within the gaṇa in question, but others may. This would be to impugn the learning of the two Sūtra-authors, since if this were so, there would be nothing to prohibit members of another gaṇa, even within the same gotra, from marrying into that gaṇa. And such a prohibition is in fact given. Therefore, the meaning is as stated (in the immediately preceding alternative explanation).

¹ Ed.: *sagotrād api samānagotrāḥ*; but *gaṇa* is obviously meant.

CHAPTER III THE ANGIRASES

1. THE GAUTAMAS

A. Baudhāyana

We shall explain the Angirases:

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Āyasyāḥ | 8. Tauṇḍīr | 15. Svastaiṣakīḥ |
| 2. Śroṇīvedhāḥ | 9. Dārbbhīr | 16. Kūḍālaya |
| 3. Kācākṣayo | 10. Devakīḥ | 17. Āruṇīḥ |
| 4. Mūdharaśāḥ | 11. Sātyamugriḥ | 18. Kāthorīḥ |
| 5. Sātyakayas | 12. Kaubhāyā | 19. Kāśivajāḥ |
| 6. Tauḍeyāḥ | 13. Baudhāyā | 20. Kākṣivajāḥ |
| 7. Kaumāravatyāḥ | 14. Naikariḥ | 21. Pārthivā itī |

These are Āyasya-Gautamas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āyasya, Gautama', etc.

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 1. Śāradvatī | 3. Rauhinyāḥ | 4. Kṣtrakarambhāḥ |
| 2. Abhyūtā | | |

2 So G; Sk, Rm āroṇi-; Be, U, P, D āroṇi-
cṛyāḥ; R āroṇiveyā; D āroṇiceṣakāḥ; cf.
Census Report; Caland, after gaṇa *subdrādi*,
āroṇiveyāḥ; M, T āroṇiceyāḥ; Bu āroṇiceyāḥ.

3 So Ed., M, G, T, Be, U; Bu kauc-; D ā-
vākṣāḥ; D ā kīcābhūḥ; rest omit.

4 So Ed., D, R, Sk; P ā mīpharathāḥ; P
mītharathāḥ; Be, U mūdhasanrathāḥ; B
Caland mūdḥāḥ only.

5 So B, R; A satya-; Sk sātyakāya; P sātya-
kāyāḥ; D sāptakīḥ; S sātyakayāḥ.

6 Conj., cf. the other lists among the Aucatayas
(Mān. reads tauḍeyāḥ—with dental—which
Caland conjectures in his footnote); M, G
taudehāḥ; T, tauḍeyāḥ; Bu, Caland taidehāḥ;
Be, U khvedhāḥ; P, Sk, R, D ā svaidēhāḥ;
D ā svaidēhāḥ; Ed. svaidāhāḥ; S staudehāḥ;
Rm vaidehāḥ.

7 D ā -vyatyāḥ; S.

8, 9 So Be, U; M, T tauṇḍībhāḥ; G, Bu
tauṇḍīkūḥ; S tauṇḍīnīr; P ā tauṇḍīr darbher;
Ed. tauṇḍīr darbhir; P ā tauṇḍīr darbhir; D ā
tauṇḍīr darbhiḥ; D ā tauḍidambhiḥ; Sk tauḍam-
darbhīḥ; R tauḍadarbhīr

10 P ā, Sk dāiv-; P ā places this after no. 11.
11 Sk sātyamugri; Ed. sātya only; S, Ed., D
include with this the first syllable of the
following -kaṇ (-ko), Bu -mugrakāḥ as well as
ko- in the next.

12 So A; B ko-; both vary between -vabhyā
and -bāhyā; S vabhyā only.

13 So B, cf. Pāp. 4. 1. 107; A baubhyā
(vaubhyā); Sk vaimyāḥ; D ā babhyā.

14, 15 Bu kari- only; Rm naukarīḥ; Sk
taukarīḥ; R, D ā naikariḥ; Ed. nauka-ṛṣi-; D ā
naikarīṣṭīḥ; rest, nauka- with no visarga,
Be, U, Sk, Caland svastaiṣakīḥ; R svastaiṣakīḥ;
P ā svastaiṣakīḥ; Ed., P ā stāiṣakīḥ only; D ā
stāyākāḥ; D ā teṣakīḥ; M ṣṭakīḥ; G ṣṭaiṣakīḥ;
T ṣṭaiṣakīḥ; S naikarīṣṭaiṣakīḥ.

16 So M, T, Be, U; G, Bu, P kul-
17 So M, cf. the other lists; Caland, S, Ed., D ā
kāruṇi; P ā kārūṇi; P ā kārūṇi; D ā kārēṇiḥ;
R karuṇayāḥ; Sk kārūṇhaya

18 D kārthorēḥ; P ā kārōri; P ā kārtho only;
Ed. kārthor-

19 M, G, T, R kākivajāḥ; S kākāñjāḥ; P kākī
only; Ed. kākī only; D kākīkāḥ.

20 So Be, U, P ā; P ā kākṣivajāḥ; Ed., D ā
kākṣivajāḥ; D ā nākṣivajāḥ; R kākṣivajāḥ; Sk, Rm
sākṣikāḥ; B omits.

21 So B, D, Sk, R; P, Ed. omits.

1 Corrected by Caland, cf. Pāp. 4. 1. 102;
T śāradvanti; Be, U śāradvanti; M, G, Bu,
Ed., Sk śāradvanti; P ā, D śāradvanti; P ā
śāradvanti; R śāradvanti.

2 So P, S, Rm; Sk abhyjuna.

3 P, D ā, R rob-

4 P ā -karabhāḥ; R kṣtrakā- bhāḥ; S kṛtakā-
rambhāḥ.

5. Saumucayāḥ
6. Sauyamunā

7. Aupebindavo
8. Rāhūgaṇā

9. Rāṇayo
10. Mārṣaṇyāḥ iti

These are Śāradvata-Gautamas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Gautama, Śāradvata', etc.

1. Kaumaṇḍā
2. Māmanthareṣaṇā
3. Māsurākṣāḥ

4. Kāṣṭareṣaya
5. Ūjāyānā

6. Vānājāyānā
7. Vāsāya iti

These are Kaumaṇḍa-Gautamas. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Aucathya, Kākṣivata, Gautama, Kaumaṇḍa', etc.

The Dirghatamasas¹ have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Aucathya², Kākṣivata, Gautama, Dairghatamasas', etc.

1. Auśanāsā
2. Dīyāḥ
3. Prāsātāḥ

4. Surūpākṣā
5. Mahodārā
6. Vikarphatāḥ

7. Subudhya
8. Nihitā
9. Guhā iti

These are Auśanasa-Gautamas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Gautama, Auśanasa', etc.

5 So Be, U, Ed.; P: -cayāḥ (and implied by D); P: -cayāḥ; R samuccayāḥ; M, G, T, S saumucayāḥ; Bu saumucayāḥ.
6 So Be, U; R, Sk, D sauyimunā; P: sauyimunā; P: saopamunā; Ed. saumyāyānā; M sauthāmurā; G, T saudhāmura; Bu sauyimura; S sauyimur.
7 So Ed., S, D, R, Sk; B saupabindavo; Be, U, P: kopibindavo; P: kauṣavidavop; Caland, suggests saupabindavayāḥ, cf. gaṇa bahādi.
8 So Be, U, Ed., D; D: P: rāhu-; Sk rahū-; P: rahna-; R rahna-; S rahūgaṇi-.

9 So B (Bu rāṇyāḥ), cf. gaṇa pāḍā; Be, U, P, Sk, D: gaṇayo; D: kha(?)joi; R gaṇamāyāḥ; S rāyano.

10 So M, G, T: māṣaṇyā; Bu māṣaṇyā; Be, U, P, D, R, Ed. māṣaṇyā; P: māṣmā; D: bhāṣaṇyā; Sk bhāṣaṇi; S māṣāṇyā.

2 So B, Sk, D, Be, U, S; P: māmantha īṣaṇā; P: mānupareṣaṇā; D: māmanthareṣaṇā, Ed. māndhareṣaṇā; but cf. Schol. to Pā. 2. 4. 66; or does Dirghatamasas Māmatasya belong here?

3 So B, Ed., P, D; Sk māṣu-; Be, U māṣareṣayāḥ māsurākṣāḥ; P: māṣpuresayo surākṣāḥ; S māsurakṣāḥ.

4 So M, G, Bu; T kṣa-; S kṣṛṣeṣaya; Be,

U, P, Ed. kṣṛṣa-; Sk kṣarekṣayāḥ; D: kṣārebbhū; D: kṣāreavv.

5 So M, G, Caland (although Caland's comparison of Āpṛat. is not convincing, since the latter gives ūjāyānā among the Bṛhadukthas); T ūjāyā; Bu ūjāyānā; S ūjāyānā; Be, U, P, Sk ājāyānā; Ed. ājā-; D: āj-; D: ājyato; P: ājāyānā.

6 So M, G; T vānā only; Bu, S omitt. Ed. P: vājāyānā; D: vāṣaṇā; D: vājāyānā, Sk cāṇhānāḥ, Be, U: vājāyānā, after this name, D inserts māsureṣi (cf. note 3 above); Sk inserts kākṣivataḥ ūjāyāḥ māsurekṣayā.

7 So Be, U, T, G, Sk, S; D: vāṣiṇ; D: vāṣiṇop; P, Ed. omitt; M, Bu pāṣya.

2 So A (but P: dityāṣya; D: auśanāsoddiṣya); M, Bu, S dityāḥ; T: dityāḥ.

3 D: prāsātāḥ.

4 D: surūpākṣāḥ; D: surupakṣo.

6 So Ed., P, Sk, Be, U; D: vikamhanāḥ; D: virakhatā, M, G, T, Caland vāṇakāḥ; Bu pingarāṣa; S yadandhanā nūmhatāḥ.

7 So Ed., D: P, Rm; S subuddhyā; P: suvuddhā; D: subuddhyāḥ; Be, U subuddhā. M subuddhāyā; G subuddhāyā; T subuddhāyā; Bu subuddhāyāḥ.

8 So B, Sk; A -sata.

9 Ed., P, Be, U omitt (but Sk gives it).

1. Kāreṇupālāyo
2. Vāstavyāḥ
3. Śvetiyāḥ

4. Pauṣiṣṭhaya
5. Audajāyānā

6. Mādhuḥkārā
7. Āṇagandhaya iti

These are Kāreṇupālī-Gautamas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Gautama, Kāreṇupālā', etc.

The Vāmadevas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Gautama, Vāmadeva', etc.¹

There is no intermarriage among any of the Gautamas.

B. Āpastamba

Next, of the Āngīrasas:²

The Āyāsa-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Āyāsa, Gautama', etc.

The Aucathya-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Aucathya, Gautama', etc.

The Auśija-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Auśija, Kākṣivata', etc.

[The Bṛhaduktha-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaduktha, Gautama', etc.]³

The Vāmadeva-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgīrasa, Vāmadeva, Bārhaduktha', etc.

C. Kātyāyana and Laṅgākṣi

We shall explain the Āngīrasas:

āngīraso vyākhyāyāmah:

W

Mān.

1. Aucathya-Gautamās

1. Aucathya-Gautamās

1. Aucathya-Gautamās

2 Dā vāstavya; after this, Be, U, P: add mādhukārā.

3 D: śvetiyāḥ dityāḥ; S śvetiyāḥ; P: śveti-
yāḥ.

4 So T; S pauṣiṣṭhaya; M, G pauṣiṣṭhaya; Bu pauṣiṣṭhā; Ed. pauṣiṣṭha; Be, U pauṣiṣṭhā; P: D: pauṣiṣṭhā; P: Sk pauṣiṣṭhā; D: pauṣiṣṭhā.

5 So Caland, cf. gaṇa rāḍā (-ni-); Ed., P: D: audajāyānā; D: audajāyānā; P: yaunda-
jāyānā; Sk audajāyānā; M, G audajāyānā; T: S audajāyānā; Bu audajāyānā; Be, U audurumjāyānā.

6 So P: D: Be, U mādhū-; Sk ādhū-; Ed., P: mādhukārā; D: mādhukārāḥ; B quite

differently—M, G, T bāndhukāyā; Bu vādhāyā; S auḥkārā; D: add bāndhāvayāḥ.
7 So Caland; B, S, D: rāja-; P: Be, U: D: āṇagandhaya(h); P: Ed., Sk āṇagandhā.

1 S, Ed. aucathya; all the others, autathya; Sk includes these under the general heading of Śāradvatas, but in fact this one family corresponds to the first three families in Baudh. (in spite of the Āyāsas being given a separate pravara below).

W

1 autathya g.

1 op tathā g. Mān.

¹ This family is omitted here by Ed., P.

² Ed., P: āngīrasa(h); Garbe, etc., āngīrasam.

³ This family is given by Ed. in a footnote only, with the comment that, although it appears in the text of the Sūtra, it is not found in the manuscript of the *Pravara-manjari*. But in fact there is no trace of it here in any of the other sources whatever.

The Dairghatamasas¹ have a three-*r̥si* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Dairghatamasas', etc.

The Āyasya-Gautamas have no intermarriage. They have a three-*r̥si* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āyasya, Gautama', etc.²

The Āyasya-Auśija-Gautamas³ have a five-*r̥si* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āyasya, Auśija, Gautama, Kākṣivata', etc.

[For the Vāmadevas, see below among the Kevala Angirases, among whom they are misplaced by all three Sūtra versions, as well as by the Matsya.]

(Puruṣottama adds the comment: 'In this section Laugakṣi's reading in the Adhvaryu's pravara is everywhere *angirasvat*!')⁴

D. Ātvalāyana

Of the Gautamas, 'Āngirasa, Āyasya, Gautama'.

Of the Ucathyaas, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama'.

Of the Rāhūgaṇas, 'Āngirasa, Rāhūgaṇya, Gautama'.

Of the Somarājakas, 'Āngirasa, Saumarājya, Gautama'.

Of the Vāmadevas, 'Āngirasa, Vāmadevya, Gautama'.

Of the Brhadukthas, 'Āngirasa, Brhaduktha, Gautama'.

Of the Prsadaśvas, 'Āngirasa, Prsadaśva, Vairūpa'. But some say Aṣṭādāmṣtra in place of Āngirasa, 'Aṣṭādāmṣtra, Prsadaśva, Vairūpa'.⁵

Of the Rksas, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvaja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa'.

Of the Kakṣivats, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama, Auśija, Kākṣivata'.

Of the Dirghatamasas, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Dairghatamasas'.

E. Matsya Purāṇa

The fish said: O king, the famous daughter of Marici, Surūpa by name, was the wife of Angiras. She had ten divine sons, Ātmā, Āyus, Manas,⁶ Dakṣa, Dama,⁷ Prāna, Havismant, Gavistha, Rta,⁸ and Satya, these ten, Angirases by name, are divine Soma-drinkers.⁹ Surūpa bore these *r̥sis*, lords of all; and

¹ So Ed. (*dairghatamatānām*); P₁ *dairghatamatānām* (cf. Baudh., *paribhāṣā*, above, p. 66), P₂ *dairghatamatānām*.

² P₁ omits this family.

³ D equates these with the Kaumārakas of Baudh., and the Auśijas of Āpṣṭ.

⁴ P₁ omits the comment. All the other Sūtras regularly have *angirasvat*. Cf. above, p. 23.

⁵ Ed. alone *saumarājyānām*.
⁶ Ed., P₁ omit the alternative, the other sources have *aṣṭādāmṣtra* in the pravara. This family and the following do not of course belong to the Gautamas, and in spite of the unanimity of the sources, we may suspect a dislocation in the text, cf. the other lists among the Kevala Angirases.

⁷ Puruṣottama cites the Matsya list below, with the Bhāradvājas, we give it here for convenience of reference.

⁸ M *damaṇa*.

⁹ M *śatāḥ*.

¹⁰ So M; p *kratuh*.

¹¹ Ed., P₂ *Sāman-singera (sāmapayināḥ)*.

Bṛhaspati, and Gautama, and Samvarta the great *r̥si*, and Āyasya,¹ and Vāmadeva, and Ucathya, and Auśija. All these *r̥sis* are said to be founders of gotras; learn from me the founders of gotras who are sprung from their gotras:

1 Ucathyo	Sāmālakāḥ	23. Kroṣṭas caiva
Gautamaś caiva	13. Pauspādīr	24. Aruṇāyānib
2. Tauleyo	14. Bhāgalaś caiva	26. Maudhāyāni-
3. (A)bhijitas tathā	15. ʔr̥ṣiś caṇḍāntakas tathā	ʔkṣoru-
ʔārḍhanemih	17. Karotah	29. Kautiyāḥ
4. śa-laugākṣiḥ	18. Kāravāri ca	25. Pārthivā tathā
7. ʔkṣirah	19. Upabinduḥ	30? ʔrauhipēyā-
kaustikīr eva ca	20. ʔaurāṣiṇaḥ	nīrodhānaś
6. Rāhūganyāḥ	21. Rauhiṇyāni-	32. mūlayo
12. ʔauspuris ca	ʔarūṇiḥ	vassur eva ca
Kairāṭh		

1 So Ed., P₂; M agrees with the rest in reading ut-.

2 So M; Ed., P₂ *naileyo*; P₁ *taileyo*.

ʔārḍhanemih, so M; Ed., P₂ D; *budhīr nageḥ*; Sk *budhaya(h) nage*; R *vopayo nageḥ*; P₁ *vodhi nageḥ*; D₂ *bodhiḥ nageḥ*.

5 So M; Ed. *saugamāḥ*; P₁ *suṇḍakṣiḥ*; P₂ D, R, *suṇḍakṣiḥ*; Sk *suṇḍakṣiḥ*.

7 So M (presumably corresponds in some way with *kratuh* of the other lists); Ed. *kaṣṭro rikur eva ca*; P₁ *toṣikurov ca*; P₂ *kaṣṭro ʔikur eva ca*; D₂ *kaṣṭrah ʔikib* (D₁ *ʔikib*); Sk *kaṣṭrayāyāyo*; R *kaṣṭrayāyāyo*.

6 Restored; the original Matsya reading was presumably *rāhukarṣiḥ* (so M, Sk); R *rāhukarṣiḥ*; P₂ *rāhukarṣiḥ*; D₁ *bāhukarṣiḥ*; Ed. *rāhū karṣi*; P₁ *rāhū karṣi*; D₂ *rāhū karṣi*.

12 So D₁, M; D₂ *peuriḥ*; R, P₂ *saupuriḥ*; Sk *saumuriḥ*; Ed. *saupuriḥ* ca; P₁ *saupuriḥ* ca.

All the sources agree in the two following names, with which compare Mān. and W.

13 Restored; Ed. *paṣṭakṣiḥ*; P₁ *paṣṭakṣiḥ*; P₂ *paṣṭakṣiḥ*; Sk *paṣṭakṣiḥ*; P₁ *paṣṭakṣiḥ*; P₂ *paṣṭakṣiḥ*; M₁ *paṣṭakṣiḥ*; M₂ *paṣṭakṣiḥ*.

14 Restored; Ed. *bhāgatalaś*; P₁ *bhāgatalaś*; P₂ *bhāgatalaś*; Sk *bhāgatalaś*; M₁ *bhāgatalaś*; M₂ *bhāgatalaś*.

Ed. hy *r̥ṣiś caṇḍāntakas tathā*; P₁ *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; P₂ *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; D₁ *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; D₂ *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; R *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; Sk *caṇḍāntakalakaś*.

M *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; P₁ *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; P₂ *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; D₁ *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; D₂ *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; R *caṇḍāntakalakaś*; Sk *caṇḍāntakalakaś*.

17 P₁ *da*.
18 Conj. restored; p has corrupted this into two epithets for the preceding name, *utapāḥ viraḥ* (so Ed., P₂; P₁ *suṇḍakṣiḥ*), which are in

turn taken as proper names by the nibandhas, D *utapāḥ viraḥ*; R, Sk *utapāḥ*; M *karotakṣi saṁvira* ca.

19 Ed., P₂ *da*.

20 So all (M as dual compound with preceding; Sk *caṇḍāntak*).

21 So M; R *ayanamaḥ*; P₂ *da -eyo ni*; Ed. *-eyā ni*; D₁ *rauhipah*; M *vihinipati*; M₂ gives variant, *rohiṇyāni*.

(n) *corropt*, Ed., D₁; P₁ *niverṭa*; P₂ *niverṭa*; D₂ *nirṭa*; M *vaiṣṭh*.

23 So M (but both with wrong sandhi, *krōṣṭa caiva*); Ed. *koṣṭas eva*; D₁ *koṣṭah*; D₂ *koṣṭaś caiva*; R *koṣṭaś caiva*; Sk *koṣṭavanyāḥ*; R *krōṣṭa*.

24 So M, Ed., P₂, D₁; Sk *aruṇāyānib*; D₂ *aruṇāyānib*; R *aruṇāyānib*; P₁ *-aruṇāyānib*.

26 Conj.; M₁ *sonotriyānib*; M₂ *sono 'trāyānib*; Ed. *sonodayānib*; P₂ *sonodayānib*; P₁ *somedāyānib*; D₁ *somedāyānib*; D₂ *somedāyānib*; R, Sk *sādamāyānib*.

ʔkṣoru, Ed., P₁, D₁, M; P₂ *-kaḥ sorub*; R *kāroṇavah*; Sk *kāroṇavah*; M *kāroṇavah*.

29 Conj.; M, Sk *kaufalya*; R *kaufalya*; Ed., P₁ *kaufalya*; P₂ *kaufalya*; D₁ *kaufalya*; D₂ *kaufalya*.

30 M *rauhiṇyānib*; P₁ *rauhiṇyānib*; P₂ *rauhiṇyānib*; R *rauhiṇyānib*; Sk *rauhiṇyānib*.

32 Apparently an error of the original Matsya author (i.e. for the one name *vissamliḥ*); M *mūlaya*; P₁ *bhūlaya*; rest *mūlayo* (D *mūliḥ*); M *pāṇḍur eva ca*; rest *vāḥ* (but D *yāḥ*).

¹ M *utātham amadevam ca aṣṭam r̥ṣim tathā*. M₂ prints the corruption, in spite of the fact that one of its sources, quoted in a footnote, has almost the correct reading, *aṣṭam r̥ṣim*.

36. Kācīkṣi-

33. puspayaś caiva

†kṣāraṇāṇḍī eva ca

37. Kṣapā

†visvantirevī ca

†pācīkārevī eva ca

These have a three-*r̥* pravara: hear their pravaras: Angīras, and Ucathya, and Uśija the great *r̥*ṣi.¹ These are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

Puruṣottama comments:

We shall now explain these Gautama-sections. The points we have already mentioned above in the explanation of the Bhṛgu-gotra sections, from the words: 'In the gotra-sections here quoted', down to 'We shall explain (those of the Bhṛgu)', are all to be repeated here at the beginning of the explanation of the Gautama-gotra-sections, since they apply equally.

The Prṣadaśvas and the Rkṣas, who are mentioned here among the Gautama gotra-ganas by Āśvalayana, have their chief mention in the sequel, as is seen by the fact that Gautama does not appear in their pravaras, and by the identity of pravara with the Rathitaras and Bharadvājas as given below; and they must be considered to have no intermarriage with them also. The same conclusion results from their mention below by the other Sūtra-authors. The question arises as to what justification could have occurred to the mind of Āśvalayana for their inclusion among the Gautama-ganas; but their mention in the sequel has a perfectly clear justification.

Since the ganas and the pravaras here are already explained by the fact of their mere mention, there is no further need of explanation. And wherever there is a conflict of opinion as to the number, one, two, or three, or the order, of the pravara-*r̥*ṣis in any one gana, the question is to be decided by customary usage, since the Sūtra-authors depended on customary usage from one source or another (for their information about) the pravaras.

Leaving aside, then, the Rkṣa and Prṣadaśva ganas, all the ganas of the Gautamas are to be deemed to avoid their own gana in marriage and to have no intermarriage one with another, since they belong to the same gotra. They belong to the same gotra because they are descended from Gautama who is one of the Seven *R̥*ṣis. And *a fortiori* there is no marriage within their own ganas, because of identity of pravara. Moreover, Baudhāyana expressly states 'There is no intermarriage between any of the Gautamas.'

36 Restored, Ed. kṣāpṣi, P₁ kṣāpṣi, P₂ kṣāpṣi; M omits this and the two following 33 Conj., but in any case it is an error of the Matsya for Vasupati; Ed puspayaś caiva, P₁ puspayaś, D₁ puspayaś, R, Sk puspayaś.

P₁ kṣāraṇāṇḍī-

37 So M; Ed kṣavo; P₁ kṣepā; P₂ kṣavā
†visvantirevī ca, Ed, P₂, P₁ -evīra.
D visvantī viśvā, M visvakaro 'ra ca, P₂
pācīkārevī eva ca, Ed, P₁ evat (nc), P₂
pācīkārevī eva ca, D₁ pācīkārevī (nc);
D₂ pācīkārevī; M pācīkārevī eva ca; R
pācīkārevī; Sk viśvāh revayā.

¹ So according to D (*Angīrasautathasjēti veni mātṛye*); P, Ed. *angirā ca vacoti* ca; M *angirā utvacothas*; read *angirā ca tathas*; ab. The pravara is none the less peculiar, and it is very probable that the Matsya or its source is again defective. (Cf. perhaps the lacuna in the Matsya account.)

2. THE BHARADVĀJAS

A. Baudhāyana

- | | | |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Bharadvājāh | 12. Aukṣṇā | 22. Vedhāh |
| 2. Kṣāmyāyapā | 13. Bhūrayah | 23. Sāthā |
| 3. Māgapdā | 14. Pāripaddehāh | 24. Gaurivāyapā |
| 4. Devāśvā | 15. Sāikheyāh | 25. Celakāh |
| 5. Udvahavyāh | 16. Suddhākaya | 26. Stanakarpā |
| 6. Prāgvapīśyo | 17. Urūdhāh | 27. Urukāh |
| 7. Vāhalayo | 18. Khāgrivaya | 28. Māpāhindavyāh |
| 8. Bādhyogā | 19. Aupaśayo | 29. Kāhvodanākā |
| 9. Vānāyanās | 20. Vayokṣibhedā | 30. Taulvalayo |
| 10. Taidchā | 21. Āgniveśyā | 31. Valāh |
| 11. Āślā | | |

- 2 D₁ kām-; D₂ kāmīyapa; P₁ kṣā-
bhyā-.
- 3 So S; M, G, Bu, Caland māmapdā; T māmapthā; Be māmapdā; U, P, D māmapdā; Ed māpāda, Rm māpāda; Sk bheganāh (Caland reports bhegavāh), P₂ addit urūdhah after this.
- 4 P₁ -ivān.
- 5 S uddātagdāh; D₁ ūrdhahavyah; Sk dīpādvahavyah.
- 6 Ed -vāyo; P₂ -vāyo; P₁ pragvāyo.
- 7 Conj.; Caland vāhalayā; M, G, T -gā; Ed -vā; Bu vālakā; P₁ vāhalabā; D₁ vāhalabho; D₂ vāhalabhyah; Sk vāhalakāh; P₂ devala; Be, U devahelā; S vāślā.
- 8 Conj., cf. gana *haritā* (also in Śatapatha Br.); Be, U, P₁, Sk, Caland bā(vā)hyogā; P₂ bhārdvayogā; D₁ vāhyah; D₂ vātyo; M vandyogā; G, T vandyogā; Bu vādyogā; Ed. dvyuagā.
- 9 So Ed., Caland, cf. Pāp. 6. 4. 174 (where, however, -yāni); M, T vāī-; G bāī-; Bu vāī-; Be, U vāī-; P₂ vāī-; P₁ vāī-; Sk vāī-; D₁ govāī-; D₂ vāī-.
- 10 So B, Caland, D₁, P₁, Sk; D₂ vāī-; Be, U vāī-; Ed. vāī-; S -vāī-.
- 11 So Be, U, Sk, D₁; P₁ vāī-; D₂ vāī-; Be, U vāī-; Ed. vāī-; S vāī-; D₁ vāī-; P₂ vāī-; Sk vāī-; D₂ vāī-.
- 12 Conj., cf. Pāp. 6. 4. 173; A, Bu aukṣā; M aukṣā; G aukṣā; T aukṣā; S aukṣā; D₁ aukṣā; cf. Mān.
- 13 S bhā-; Sk ā-.
- 14 So Caland (after Rm); G pāri-; Be, U, M, P₁, P₂, D₁ pāripaddehāh; D₂ pāripaddehāh; Be pāripaddehāh; S pāripaddehāh; Bu vānnekeah, Ed. pāripaddehāh.
- 15 So B, S, A, Keśākhavā; Ed. keśāssevā; D₁ keśāssevā; D₂ keśāssevā.
- 16 So M, G, T, sauddhāyā; Bu saukhāyā; S, Be, U, Sk saudhāyā, Ed. sauddhāyā; P₂ sauddhāyā; P₁ sauddhāyā.
- 17 So G, T, Be, U; M ūru-; Bu aurū-; Ed., Sk, D₁ urū-; P₂ urū-; D₂ urū only; P₁ uruga; S dūdhāh.
- 18 So B, D, P₁, Ed.; Be, U khāra-; P₂ vāra-; S gāra-.
- 19 So B, S; P₂ -sāyo; P₁ śopāsāyo; Ed. saśāyo; Sk supāsāyāh; D₁ supāsivā; D₂ supātib (corr. from -tib); read Aupaśivā (Vaj. Prkt.).
- 20 P₁ vāyokṣibheya.
- 21 So B, Rm; Ed. agniveśā; Sk, S, D, P agniveśā.
- 22 So B; Ed. vāśyā; S vyāvāyā; Be, U vāśā; rest omitt.
- 23 So M, Bu, Ed., P₁, D; P₂ āśhā; Be, U āśhā; T āśhā; G āśhā; Sk āśhā.
- 24 G, Bu, Ed., P₂, D -nā; P₁ gori-; Sk -vāvanāh; M bhauri-; Be, U gauvāśārekhāyanāh (but all with dental -n-).
- 25 So Be, U, T, Caland (but without vāśā); M, G āśhā; S, Sk khelākhā; P₁ velahā; Ed. āśhā; P₂ lekha; Bu caurākhā.
- 26 S -stanu-.
- 27 So M, G; Bu auc-; T ur-; Ed., P, D, Sk r̥kas; S parokṣā; Be, U rukṣā.
- 28 So M, T, S; G -bhindagāhā; Be -bhan-davyāh; Ed. -bhudyāh; P₁ māpāvināyā; P₂, D₁, Sk mānibhindyāh; Be, U māpābhindyāh.
- 29 So M, G; T kāvya; S kāmōdakā; Bu kāmōdakā; Be, U kāmōdakāh kāmōdakāh; Sk kāmōdakāh; P₂ kāmōdakāh; D₁ kāmōdakāh; D₂ kāmōdakāh.
- 30 Conj., cf. Pāp. 2. 4. 61 and the other lists; the archetype, however, had taulvalayo—so M, T, Bu, S, D₁; P₁ taulvalayo; P₂ taulvalayo; D₂ taulvalayo; Sk taulvalayo; Ed. taulvalayo.
- 31 So Bu, Ed., P₂, Sk; P₁, D velāh; M, G, T, S vepāh.

32. Khāreṇādayo	44. Vārāhayo	56. Īśāyākalāḥ
33. Bhāruḍḍeyā	45. Valanbhakayo	57. Krauḍḍānāḥ
34. Mādrupathayāḥ	46. Rudrāṅgapathāḥ	58. Kauḍḍiṇyā
35. Tsasurobhagāḥ	47. Śālāhalayo	59. Brahmatambhā
36. Sungā	48. Devavellā	60. Rājastambhā
37. Daivamataya	49. Mahāvellā	61. Agnistambhā
38. Īṣṇatā	50. Nivīṇīcāyanā	62. Vāyustambhāḥ
39. Audameghayaḥ	51. Dhānyāyanāḥ	63. Sūryastambhāḥ
40. Pravāḥayaḥ	52. Śālālayāḥ	64. Somastambhā
41. Kalmāsā	53. Śārdūlayāḥ	65. Yamastambhā
42. Rājastambhāḥ	54. Īkātālā	66. Indrastambhā
43. Sudhūpakṛd	55. Īvātālāḥ	

32 So emended by Caland, after *gana bahādā* (where, however, Bohtlingk prints dental -n-); M, G, khāru-; T dvayo; S kārūpā-dayo; Bu khārūpḥ deyaḥ; Be, U khārūḍḍe-veyā; P kārūḍḍādayo; Pa khā rūḍḍā deyo; D kharūḍḍā devīḥ; Da khārūḍḍeyāḥ; Sk kharūḍḍā deyo; cf. Mān. khārūḍḍā.

33 So B, S; Ed. bhar-; P īstarūḍḍemā; Pa bharūḍḍāyāḥ; Sk bharūḍḍāyāḥ; D bharūḍḍāyāḥ; Da bharūḍḍeyo.

34 So M, G, T, S; Bu mātra-; Be, U bhadrā-rathā; P bhadrtāyāḥ; Pa bhadrtāyāḥ; Ed. bhadrtāyāḥ; D bhadrtāḥ; Sk bhadrtāyāḥ.

35 ? So M, G, T, Caland, U saurabhagā; S sruṭhagāḥ; A saurabhārḥ (Pa soraḥbhārḥ, D saurabhāḥ).

36 So S, Bu, p (but D īrṇagāḥ); Be, U īrṇagā; M, G subhāṅga; T aubhāṅga.

37 So M, G, T, cf. *gana tauvalyādi*; rest, deva-.

38 S -matayo; Sk -mātre; P -vatā; Caland suggests *ajumattā*, for which cf. Mān., W. no. 15.

39 So Be, U, Pa, D; cf. *gana pailādā* and the other lists; M, G, baudome; T valādome; P dodāḥ me-; S vādome-; Ed. vaudome-; P mauvādome-; Sk audya-meyayāḥ; Da audardemāḥ; Pa adda also baudome.

40 Cf. *gana ūbhadrāḥ*; Pa prevāḥayaḥ; cf. Pāp. 7, p. 28.

41 Ed. kalmāsā; P kālyāṇarṇā.

42 So B, Pa, Ed., D; P -starvī; Da -sumbhīḥ; Sk -stavayāḥ; Be, U -stambhāḥ; but rājastambhā also occurs below, no. 60, and it is doubtful whether the name really belongs here.

43 ? So B; Be, U sādhyupakṛtāyā; Sk sardhupakṛtāyāḥ; P sardhyupakṛtā; Ed. sadyopakṛtā; Da sadyopakṛtāḥ; D sagho-sakṛtā; Pa sadhupakṛtā, S sindupakṛd.

44 So M, G, T, S; cf. the other lists; Pa parālayā; Be, U rāhāyo only; p, D, Sk parābhāyo.

45 So M, G, T, Caland; Ed., P -bhi; D karabhtīḥ; Da balamekūḥ; Sk balabhokayo; Be, U valabhayo; Bu upalambhukayāḥ; S valabhtigayo.

46 So Ed., P, D; Da -prthub; Pa rūdriga-; Be, U, Sk -yathāḥ; M, G, T, Caland uprā-gatā; Bu indrohatāḥ.

47 So B, Ed., P, D; S ālāhalino; Pa sālādhayo; D ālāharh.

48 So B, Ed., P (P vedaveśayanāḥ; Sk veśāḥ only).

49 Only in B, D (S maho-).

50 So M, G, T nipīca-; Pa rajyā-; S rjā-; Ed., P, D, Sk, Be, U nryā-; Pa bhrtāyā-; Da natyā-; Sk adda also nryāḥ.

51 So D; only; Da B dhānyāyanāḥ; A, S omitt; cf. *gana avādhā*.

52 Sk ālā-; Ed. ālā-; D ālānīḥ; Da āvāḥ; ālāyāḥ.

54 So G, Bu; T kārkalāḥ (with this Caland compares Pāp. 4, s. 145—kārkaṇa—but this is most improbable); M kārkalāḥ; S tārkalāḥ; Be, U kārkalāḥ; Pa kārkalāḥ; P, Ed. kārkalāḥ; Sk kārkalāyāḥ; D kārkalā.

55 So Bu, S; M, G vīkālāḥ; T pātālāḥ; A bākalā (vā-).

56 So M, G -kalāḥ; Bu sāyihāḥ kaidāḥ; T sāyihāḥ; S sāyihāsindhāḥ; Be, U sāyihāḥ; Ed. sedhyakaidāḥ; Pa sāyihā-kaidāḥ; P, skhyakaidāḥ; Sk sāyihāyāḥ; D sāyihāyāḥ; Da sāyihāyāḥ.

57 So Caland, cf. Pāp. 4, s. 80 (krauḍḍ); M, G, Bu krod-; T krauḍḍ-; D, Be, U, Ed., Sk, P krauḍḍ- (Pz corr. from krauḍḍ-; for kauḍḍāyana, cf. *gana pakṛdāḥ*).

58 So P, Rm D (as an emendation, however); cf. *gana gurgud*; Sk krauḍḍina Fd, P krauḍḍīva (Pz corr. from krauḍḍīva); M, G krauḍḍīva; T krauḍḍhiva; Bu kārḍībhā, Be, U kaulḍīya.

67. Viṣṇustambhā	75. Kauśivāyanā	82. Dārbbhayaḥ
68. Yajñastambhā	76. Ātreyaṇāḥ	83. Śyāmeyā
69. Āpastambhā	77. Bhāmāyā	84. Matsyakrīthāḥ
70. ye cānye stambha-śabdāḥ	78. Dhūmagandhāḥ	85. Dhaukāvāyanāḥ
71. Śvīṣṭā	79. Īkukāḥ	86. Kārūpathayāḥ
72. Ārupasindhuh	80. Kaukākṣayo	87. Kārīṣṭyāḥ
73. Kaumudagandhīḥ	81. Nastundayo	88. Kāmbalyāḥ iti
74. Śaktih		

These are Bharadvājas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Barhaspatya, Bhāradvāja', etc.

[1. Raukṣāyāḥ	4. (Sāpilā)	7. (A)gnihivī ca
2. Kapilāḥ	5. Vibhīḍyāḥ	8. Kārṇā ca
3. Śabalāḥ	6. Kauthumo	9. Sōtā ca

These are Raukṣāyana. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Barhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavaca', etc.

67 Ed., P, D, Sk place this before no. 65; D, T omit.

68 B only (S also omits nos. 67-9).

69 Sk -mbāḥ.

70 I.e. whose names end in -stambha; possibly we should read stambha-stamba-śabdāḥ—so D, Be, U; P: stambhāva-śavdā; Ed. stambha-stambha (with -be in brackets) -śabdā; Pa stambhā, stambha-śabdāḥ; Da stāyastambhā śavdāntāḥ; Sk, in spite of reading āpastambha, stambha-śabdāḥ only.

71 So B; S āṣṭa; A omitts.

72 So B, Ed.; S ārupi-; Be, U abha (or smāṇasindhava; Pa ārupā-; P: ārupāḥ; Sk ārupyāḥ sindhavaḥ; D arunīḥ (Da -ab) sindhuh.

73 So B; A plural; D: kumuda-.

74, 75 So B; S śaktih śktivāyanā; for both, Be, U, P, Ed.; S śaktihāyanā; D śīkṣāyāḥ; D trībhaḥvayāḥ.

76 So A, S; Sk mātre-; M, G, T ātreyaḥ; Bu ātrīnāḥ.

77 So Be, U, Ed., Pa, Sk bhāmāyā; D māmanāva (dental); M, G, T māmanvā; S māmanā-; Bu yatamāsta.

78 A omitts; D, from its B-source, dhūmagandhuh.

79 So M, G, T; Bu kokāḥ; A kukatāḥ; cf. possibly Āpast. kukva, where, however, the reading is also in doubt.

80 So B, D, Sk; Ed., P: kaukākṣayo; Pa kaukākṣo; S kāpāyana.

81 So B, D; Ed., P: naitūyā; D: naitūyāḥ; Sk jāitūyāḥ; S naitūyā.

82 Ed. dābbhayaḥ; D dābbhū; S dhārtayo; rest, dābbhayaḥ.

84 So Be, U, P, D; M, G, T -jayāḥ; Bu -krodhāḥ; S -krīdhāḥ; Sk -krīpāḥ; Da -krāmāyā; Ed. matsakāyāḥ.

85 So T (Caland compares Āpast. kukva); M, G kṛdau-; Bu kālyā-; S kaukṣāyāḥ; A kārūṇāyāḥ (confused with the following name).

86 Pa kārūṇhayaḥ.

87 So Be, U, G, S; D -ru-; rest, -ri-.

88 So Be, U, Pa; G, T, Bu kābalyā; M kābalyā; P, Ed., D, Sk kāvalyā; Da kāvalā; S kāmā.

The nine names in this family occur in Be, U (which, however, Caland does not quote in full), Ed, Sk, R, D. The last, however, attributes them to the Matsya. B gives only the unbracketed portion, while P, Pa omit the family entirely. S quotes five of the names. The list is probably, as Caland suggests, taken from one of the other Sūtras, though his suggestion that it was Kātyāyana (i.e. our W) has no special claim to acceptance. See the others among the Kevala Āngirasa.

3 So Sk; D, R śavālāḥ; Ed. śpilāḥ; S śpilādā. 4 So Ed.; R, Sk, Da śiphi-; S śāiphi-; D: śpilāḥ śpilāvīḥ. This seems to be simply dittography of no. 3.

5 So Sk; R -śvīḍhūḥ; Da -śvīḍhū-; D: trībhdhūḥ. Ed. vaupndh; S vaupdhāḥ.

6 Cf. *gana kōrtakagupāḥ*; D kauthamāḥ; R Sk kausumāḥ; Ed. kauthmo; S kaudhmo.

7 So Ed.; cf. W, D, R Sk -jvāḥ.

8 So R Sk, D, Ed. kanvi ca.

9 Cf. W; Ed. sūta ca, D, R Sk sutāḥ.

	W	Mān.
4. Bhṛāṣṭrakṛd	4. Bhṛāṣṭrakṛd	4. Bhṛāṣṭrakṛd
5. Bhṛāṣṭrabindavo	5. Bhṛāṣṭrabindus ca	5. Bhṛāṣṭrabindus ca
6. Aindrālī-	6. Aindrālī-	6. Aindrālī-
7. Sāyakāyanāḥ	7. Sāyakāyanāḥ	7. Sāyakāyanāḥ
8. †kaulāstra-	8. †kroṣṭhi ca	8. †koli ca
9. kriyāśvā-	9. krīḍī ca	9. krīḍī
10. krīva-†	10. krīdī ca	10. nīśarp tva
11. Kālākṛn-	11. bhālākṛn	11. ... kṛt-
12. Mātula-	12. māśuravāratāḥ	12. snapurāvāta-
13. Yāvakṛd-	13. kaholakiṛ†	13. lāvaki
14. Bhāllavir	14. ...	14. bhāllavir†
15. Apamarkaṭaḥ	15. Upamarkaṭi-	15. Upamarkaṭi-
16. Protsangh	16. pretsag-	16. Protsangh
17. Paingalāyanāḥ	19. Śyāmāyana-	19. Śyāmāyana
18. Śyāmāḥ	17. †pasukāyana-	17. †yalukāyana
19. Śyāmāyana	21. śāmbharabhāramata-	21. śāmbharabhāramat†.
20. Gārgyāḥ	20. Gārgya-	(lacuna)
21. †śāmparivātrā iti	vālākṛti	

... śenya gārgyeti hotā, etc.

(Pravara as in K. & L.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a five-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bharadvāja, Śaṇya, Gārgya', etc.

1. Tittirih	1. taittirih	1. taittirar-
2. Kapibhūmih	2. kavibhūmo	2. kaviṛ bhūmo

4 So Ed.; P₁ bhṛāṣṭrakṛd (P_{1a} omits); P₂ bhṛāṣṭrakṛd.

5 Restored; Ed. bhṛāṣṭramiti; P₁ bhṛāṣṭravidi; P_{1a} bhṛāṣṭravindi; P₂ bhṛāṣṭrubhi.

6 P_{1a} yanī.

7 All, śāṇkāyanāḥ; cf. Matsya, Mān. and gaṇa nāddī (also in Śatapatha-Br.).

8 D₁ kaulāstrayaḥ.

9 P_{1a} svā.

10 So D, P₂; Ed., P₁ kriva.

12 D mātulayaḥ.

13 D₁ -krīḥ; D₂ -ktir.

14 So D₁; D₂ māllavir; P₁ bhāllavir; P_{1a} bhāllavir; P₂ māllavir; Ed. māllapar-

15 So P₁, P₂; D₁ -ṛṣi; P_{1a} laupamarkaṭa; Ed. aupamarkaṭa; S auparka.

16 ? So Mān.; P₁, D₁ pretyanga; Ed., P₂ prasanyagḥ; P_{1a} presanya; S nāśasthyagḥ.

17 So D₂; Ed., D₁ paṇja; P₂ paṇja; P₁ gaṇalāyana; P_{1a} paṇjalāyana.

18 In Ed., P₂ only.

19 Ed. śān-; S śyām-.

20 So P₂, P_{1a}, D, S; P₁ gārgyaḥ; Ed. gārgya.

21 So Ed., P; P_{1a}, D₁ śpārī-; D₂ sarṇ-; 3 garga iti.

perhaps taken as 'Gārgyas and their followers', but probably corrupt, cf. the other lists.

P₂ omits this family, ascribing its three-ṛṣi pravara to the preceding.

1 P₁ tittirih.

2 So Ed., P₁; S₁ kavibhūmayah; R kapitumayah; D gives two names, kapibhūmih.

4 bhṛāṣṭrakṛ.

5 bhṛāṣṭravatī ca.

6 indrīvi.

7 śyāmāyana (dental).

12 (corr. from māśuravāratāḥ).

15 upamarkaṭi.

19 śyāmāyana.

Mān.

4 bhṛāṣṭrakṛ.

5 kaparvādi ca.

6 andrādhīh.

15 upamarkaṭi.

19 śyāmāyana.

	W	Mān.
3. †khanditah	3. Garga iti	3. Gargā iti
4. †khandito		
5. Gargā iti		

(Pravara as in K. & L.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āngirasa, Śaṇya, Gārgya', etc.

D. Āśvalāyana

Of the Bharadvāja-Agniveśyas, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja'.
(Of the Gargas, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bharadvāja, Gargya, Śaṇya', or else 'Āngirasa, Śaṇya, Gārgya'.)¹

E. Matsya Purāṇa

1. Ātrevāyaṇi-	10. Tṛṇakarnī ca	17? kaucaḥ
2. Saupistav	11. Prāhīś ca	dhūmtaḥ caiva
3. Agniveśah	12. Āśvalāyanaḥ	22? paśpāṇvayasi tathaiva ca
4. Salathalah	13. †bhāvyagachir	20? Somastambir
5. Valsavyas	13a. dasadikih†	Brahmastambir
6. Tokupir	14. Kharuvirasi tathaiva ca	23. sālaḥ
7. Vārāḥ	kārakī ca	bālāsir tathā
8. Vārāḥ	maḥkāpī	29. Devigāri
9. Śaṇya ca	tathā ca, udupatir prabhuh	30. Devasthānir

3, 4 These are missing in the other lists; P₁ svanditah khadigto (P_{1a} svanditih pampitoh); D₁ svanditah khanditah; D₂ svanditah khānditah; S svanditah khānditah; Ed. khānditah only; R, S₁ khānditah only. Probably merely a scribe's note indicating that his exemplar was broken.
D calls this family Garga-bheda.

1 So M₂; the others with dental -ni (P₁ -yatis ca).

4 P, Kṛṣṇa; Ed. sāvistayau; P₁ -sto; P₂ -stiv; M sāvistayāv.

6 So Ed., P₁; P₂, M -dya.

7 Cf. W, and gaṇa śāśvādi; P āla-; D₁ ālāthah; D₂ ālāthah; Ed., M ālāthah.

3 So Ed., P, Kṛṣṇa; M ba-

Cikṛpi—so Ed.: M cikṛpi; D₂, P₁ cikṛpi; D₁ cikṛpi; P₂ cikṛpi (after no. 8); Kṛṣṇa cikṛpi.

vārāḥ, cf. Mān., gaṇa bhāddā; Ed., M, D bhāddā; P₂ vārā-; P₁ vārāḥ; Kṛṣṇa vārāḥ.

9 Restored, f.d., M, P₂ sāvistayau; D sāvistayau; P₁ sāvistayau; Kṛṣṇa sāvistayau.

10 So P₂, M₂, S, Kṛṣṇa; P₁ -kapī; M₁ tripa-

Ed. nṛvavāsi ca.

11 So Ed., P, D, Kṛṣṇa; M prāhīś ca; S prāhīś ca.

12 So M; Ed., P₁, D (ca) labhāyana; P₂ labhāyana; Kṛṣṇa labhāyana (dental); S labhāyanaḥ (dental).

13, 13a So P₂; Ed. -oḥas ca dīpāḥ; P₁ vāchagachir dāśdikim; D₁ vāchagachir dāśdikim; D₂ vāchagachir dāśdikim; Kṛṣṇa vāchagachir dāśdikim; M quite otherwise—vāchir bāhīś ca.

14 Restored; Ed., P₂ svāra-; D svāgrivir (D₁ -v); P₁ svāgrivir; M śikṛgṛvira; Kṛṣṇa dvivābhāva grāva.

Kārakī ca—all the names from here to no. 40 inclusive appear to have been missing in Puruṣottama's copy, and we are therefore dependant for them on M₁, M₂ only, whose readings are given in the text, except where noted.

20 M somastambir brahmatambir.

29 M devasthānir.

¹ The Gargas occur in the middle of the Kevala Āngirases in all the Āśvalāyana sources; the other Sūtras make it probable that they should be transferred to here.

31. Hārikarniḥ	37. Māloharah	43. Jaitvalāyānir eva ca
32. saridbhuvih	38. Hāloharas tathaiva ca	45. Āpastambih
33. prīvepiḥ	39. Gāṅgodakih	46. saujaṣṭrīnīh
35. Sātyamugrīś ca	40. Kaurupatīh	44. goṣvāpingalir eva ca
34. tatha Kaumudagan-	40. Kaurukṣetrīs tathaiva ca	47. Paulīś caiva mahātejah
dhikah	41. tñayakir	48. tñalankāyānir eva ca
36. Mātyakrāthah	42. jaitvadraupīś ca	

These are all held to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara,¹ first Angiras, second Brhaspati, third Bharadvāja. These are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Kāpālyanāḥ	7. Sāyākāyanīh	13. Yāvakṛd
2. Kaivalayaś	8. tñakrautīś	14. Bhāllaviś ca
3. tathā Vātsatārīyaṇah	9. cākṛī ca	15. Aupamarkaṭah
4. Bhṛāṣṭrakṛd	10. vāspīś ca†	17. Paingalāyanīh
5. Bhṛāṣṭrabandus ca	11. Kālākṛn	16. Protsangīś ca
6. Aindralīh	12. Mātulas tathā	18. tathā Śyāmāḥ

35. M. śādyasavīś.
36. M. gomagaḍdhikah.
37. M. matyāśochādyo.
38. M. māloharah.
39. M. pñādhāras.
39. M. āṅgagadhiḥ.
† tñayakir—so M; Ed., Pa. vasyāki; (Pa. however, gives it immediately before no. 43), Kṛṣ. S. vāṭakī, P. vāṭakī; D. vāṭakī.
41, 42. So M; Ed. jityadropīś ca; P. jityādroṣīś ca.
43. So P.; Ed., Pa. Kṛṣ. jaitvalāyānī; M. jaitva-; S. jaitvī.
44. P. jaitvī.
46. ? P. D. bhāṣṭrīnī, Pa. vāṣṭrīnī; Fd. mājāyānī; M. māṣṭrīnī; Kṛṣ. māṣṭrīnī (corrected from -vṛṣṭī); S. māṣṭrīnī.
48. So P., Kṛṣ. (as two names), Ed. -ava-; Pa. gogava-; D. -pīgaliḥ; D. gogva (corrected from -gva-) pīgaliḥ.
49. All, paila; Kṛṣ. paila teja mahāteja—all as proper names.
49. So Ed., P. M, Kṛṣ. D. -nah; D. śākala-yanah; D. adda sauśvaśa, D. svaushvaśa.

P. omits this family. D, R, Sk. all give a heterogeneous list, containing most of the Matsya names but many others besides; D attributes the whole list to the Matsya, but wrongly, since many of its forms clearly belong to the K. & L. list.
1. Restored; Ed., M. kāṇṭvāyanīh; D. kāṇṭvāyanīh; Kṛṣ. -kanvā.

2. Restored; Ed. kaujāvathah; M. kopacayaś; Pa. koṣṭayaś; Kṛṣ. kaujayaś; S. kaujivāś.
3. So D; Ed., Pa. M. vātsya-; Kṛṣ. vāṣṭrīnī-tarīyaś.
4. So M, D.; Ed., Pa. bhṛā-; Kṛṣ. bhṛāṣṭrak; D. bhṛāṣṭrak.
5. Restored; Ed. bhṛāṣṭravajṣṭ ca; Pa. bhṛāṣṭrak ca. M. vāṣṭrapindī ca. D. vāṣṭrapindūh, D. vāṣṭrapindūh, Kṛṣ. bhṛāṣṭrasānī, S. bhṛāṣṭrasānī.
6. Restored; Ed., Pa. lavalah; Kṛṣ. lavalah, D. naidrakah; M. laindrīnīh.
7. So M; Ed., Pa. śākālāyanīh; Kṛṣ. śākālāyanī.
8. So Ed., Pa.; Kṛṣ. krodī; S. krodas.
9. So Ed., S.; Pa. śāntī ca; Kṛṣ. akṛt.
10. So Ed., Pa. vāṣṭrī ca, S. vāṣṭrī ca. Kṛṣ. vāṣṭrī; in place of nos. 8-10, M. has kṛṣṭakṣṭ bahuvrīti ca.
11. Restored; D. kālavī; Ed. lātākṛn; M. lātākṛn; Pa. lātākṛn; Kṛṣ. lātākṛ.
12. Conj.; Ed., Pa. M. madhurāvahah; Kṛṣ. madhurāvah.
13. Restored; Ed. lāyākṛd; Pa. lopakṛd; Kṛṣ. lāpakṛd; M. lāyākṛd.
14. Conj.; Pa. Ed. bhāllavi-; M. gālavīd; Kṛṣ. bhāllaviha.
15. Conj. (but overrunning the caesura); Ed. -droṣaṇ markapah; Pa. -drīṣṭo markapah; M. gāthī mārkāth, Kṛṣ. rāśa sakata.
17. Cf. K. & L.; Ed., Kṛṣ. paṅkalāyana; Pa. paṅkalā-; M. paṅkalāyanīh.
16. Cf. K. & L.; Ed., Kṛṣ. mātāsaṅga; Pa. mātsyaṅga; M. śāntasāś ca.
18. Conj.; cf. K. & L.; Ed., Pa. Kṛṣ. (tathā) dāmi; M. tathā cākṛt.

¹ Ed. tṛyāṣṭryaḥ pravaraś caiva sarveṣāṃ pravaro mataḥ—read parikṛtāḥ? M. corrupt; dāyābhīyeyo mātrāś caiva sarveṣāṃ (M. tṛyāṣṭryaḥ pravaro rpa.

20. Gārgyaḥ	Bālākīh	Sāmbharāś caiva
19. Śyāmāyanīs tathā *		

These are said to have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras of great brilliance, Brhaspati the divine teacher, Bharadvāja, Garga, and the blessed *ṛṣi* Sānya. These *ṛṣi*s are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

(1. 'Tittirīh'¹ 2. Kapibhūmāś ca 3. Gārgyaś caiva mahān ṛṣīh

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras and †Tittirī and Kapibhūmā; the great *ṛṣi*.² These *ṛṣi*s are said to have no intermarriage one with another.)

3. KEVALA ANGIRASES³

A. Baudhāyana⁴

1. Haritāḥ	4. Dārbyā	7. mānyūr
2. Kautāḥ	5. Sāmbhango	8. Lāmbodaro
3. Śānkhyā	6. Bhaimagavo	9. Mahodaro

20. So M; Pa. gambhī; Ed. bhāgī; Kṛṣ. Pa. sāmhyeyā.
19. So all.
Bālākīh, so M, Pa, Ed., Kṛṣ. cf. W;
M. bā-
sāmbharāś, conj., cf. W. Mān.; M. sāharīś
caiva; Pa. Ed. sāharīś caiva; Kṛṣ. sāyānī. In
the pravara, M. sāyānī.
1. So M, Ed., Pa. Kṛṣ. P. tittirīh.
2. So M.; Ed., P. Ma. kapibhūmā caiva; Kṛṣ.
kapi only. In the pravara, M. kapibhūmā;
Ed., Pa. Ma. kapibhūmā; P. kayibhūmā ca;
Kṛṣ. here also simply kapi.
3. So Bu; S. kūtās; T. kōta; M. G. kautāyā;
Be. U. kūtāyāyāyā; Ed., P. D, R, Sk. omitt.
4. So P., D., B. Ed. sāmkyo; Sk. sāmkyā;
R. sāmkyā; D. sāmkyo; Be. U. sāmkyā;
Pa. sāmkyāyā.
5. U. saubhag; Ed., P, D, R. saubhag;
Sk. saubhagīyā; S. bhūmyo.
6. So A (but P. loma ravā, Sk. neyagavāḥ),
cf. Adv.; B. haimagava, for which cf. K. & L.
7. ? So Caland; Ed. māmanāyūr; S. gama-
manāyūr; M. G. T. gavamanāyūr; Be. U, R.
matyāyūr-yavo; Sk. matyāyūr; D. matyāyūr;
8. P. mānyūh; Pa. mānyūr bālūr.
9. P. lāvodaro; G. lābodaro; Ed. lāvodaro;
T. lāmbodaro; M. lāmbodaro; Be. U. lābodaro;
Sk. D. vālodarīh; R. valo/darā; Pa. balādro;
S. lāvo only.
9. S. mān-; P. omitt.

¹ This family really belongs here, cf. K. & L., Mān., W; but all the sources combine to give it among the Kevala Angirases in the Matsya account—viz. after the Kaṇvas. The corruption of the pravara naturally conceals the dislocation.

² We should probably read, e.g. 'angirāś ca tathā gargaḥ śānyāś caiva mahān ṛṣīh'—if so, the true reading has been ousted by dittography of the last above.

³ Puroṣottamaś allots a separate chapter to the Kevala Angirases only in the case of the Baudh. and Āpast. accounts; for the others, he gives them continuously with the Bharedvājās. They have been separated here for convenience, but some doubt remains as to the correct position of the two families: the Rūpaś are certainly Bharedvājās, as can be seen from their pravara; but they occur among the Kevalas, except in Baudh. and Āpast.; while the Kapīs are almost certainly Kevalas, but they are usually treated by the medieval authors as Bharedvājās.

⁴ The order of the ganas is different in the A and B traditions. The order of A is given here, as being Puroṣottamaś's. Be. U., however, give the Kapīs both before the Haritās and again after the 'sāmkrūs, adding after the first occurrence, the prohibition of intermarriage among the Bharedvājās. In B, the succession is Viṣṇurddhas, Kanvas, Haritās, Sāmkrūs, Rathitārās, Mudgalas, Kapīs. The Vaikhāṇasa Sūtra, as might be expected in a southern School, follows the order of B.

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 10. Namistrayo | 14. Kaulayab | 17. Māndhūpo |
| 11. Mīśrodanāḥ | 15. Paulayab | 18. Māndhātur |
| 12. Kautapāḥ | 16. paundalo | 19. Māndrakāśya iti |
| 13. Kāriyab | | |

These are Haritas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āmbariṣa, Yauvanāśva', etc.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Kaṇvā | 5. Mauñjir | 8. Vājir |
| 2. Aupamarikāyānā | 6. Mauñjīyo | 9. Vājīyo |
| 3. Bākalāḥ | 7. Mauñjigandhā | 10. Vājaśravasā iti |
| 4. Sāilāhalino | | |

These are Kaṇvas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Ājamidha, Kāṇva', etc.

- | | | |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Rathitarā | 4. Naitirakṣayāḥ | 6. Bhailir |
| 2. Hāstidāḥ | 5. Sāilālayo | 7. †bhilībhāyanā |
| 3. Kāhvāyānā | | |

10 So Bu, R, Sk, D; Ed. -āraya; D: -ārib; P: -āraḥ; Pa, M, G, T -āreyo; S -āravo; Be, U vai; cf. gaṇa *taulayādi*.

11 So P, T; Ed, M, G, T -daraḥ; S -daraḥ; Sk dakṣ; Bu trīṇonāḥ; Be, U vīmīśradanāḥ; R dakṣ only; (hapl. with no. 10).

12 So A; D: kī; Da kaunaya; M kautapāḥ; T kaulapāḥ; G kōpōdarab; Bu kaddhapāḥ; S kaulapāḥ.

13 So G, Pa, R, D, I; Ed, Da, P, M, T kāri-; U, T kari; Be kari; Sk kariyab.

14, 15 S kaulāḥ paulāḥ; D: I omits.

16 So M, G; Be, U, P, Ed, paund; D: R pot; D: potalib; Sk paṇḍalāyab paulāḥ; S paṇḍaralo; Bu paṇḍurab; T paundevo (cf. perhaps paṇḍāyana, gaṇa *avēdī*); after this name, R, Sk, D add matayāḥ, D: matuṣyab.

17 So G, Be, U; M māḍghūpo; Bu māḍghū-; T māḍghuko; S, Pa māḍghūpo; D: mādhūpā; Ed. mādhūyo; P: mādhūyo; Da mādhūyo.

18 So B (Bu mā-); Ed. māndhātū; P: māndhātu; M kāmābhāṇā kalvānā S kāmābhāvanāḥ. B, Caland kāvāvanā, D -kaḥ dāvanāḥ. D -kaḥ bhāvanā.

19 So G, T, cf. Mān; M ma-; S -kārah; Be, U māndakā; Sk, P, D: māḍḍa; D: māḍḍa; Pa māḍḍakāra.

2 So G, Sk, Da; D: -nib; Be, U aupamārikāyānā; P: yaupamarikāyānā; S aupamarikāyāyab; S markṣāyānāḥ; R aupamārikāyāyana.

3 So Pa, R, Sk; D: bhāṣk; Da viṣk; P: vaṣk; M vāṣka; Bu vatka; T yatka; S vāṣkaro; Ed. kuṣ only.

4 2 So M; T -harito; G -halayo; Bu halanāḥ only; Ed paula; R paulā; P: paulāhalino;

Pa paulahano; Sk paulahastino; Be, U paulāhalino; D paulāḥab; cf. perhaps sālālin, Pto. 4, 3, 110?

5, 6 So M, G, T mauñjir mauñjīyo, T mauñjī mauñjīyo; Bu mājanāḥ only; S mauñjir mauñjīyo, A as one name. Be, U, Ed, P: māñjūmājāyo, P: māñjūmājāyo, R mauñjūmājāyo, Sk mauñjūbhājāyab, D: māñjūḥ only.

7 So Ed., R, Sk, G; Bu, M, Pa mauji-; P: mauḍho; D: -gavab; D: maujagechab; Be, U, T māñji.

8, 9 So M, G; Bu -lī-; rest as one name—T, S vājīvājāyo; P: R vājīvājāyo; Pa vājīvājāyā; Ed. vājīvājāyā; Sk vājīvājāyāḥ; D vājīyo only; Be, U vājīyo only.

10 P, Ed. -sa iti; S vājīśravasab; R vājīśravaso; Sk -sab.

2 P, Ed., M, G; Be, U, R hāsti-; T -dādi; Bu hāstidāḥ; Sk hāstidāḥ si-; D: hāsti dāsa-; D: hāsti dāsa-.

3 So Ed., R, P: -yenā; Sk -hva-; P: kālāna; Be, U kāmābhāṇā kalvānā S kāmābhāvanāḥ. B, Caland kāvāvanā, D -kaḥ dāvanāḥ.

D: -kaḥ bhāvanā.

4 So Be, U, Ed, P, R, Sk, Pa neti-; D: naitakāḥ; D: naitakāḥ; M: T -rkṣavab; G -rkṣavā; Bu naitakṣavab.

5 So A, cf. Pān 4, 3, 110 tsālālin, M, G, T āsālāyo; Bu vāsalāyab; S kāsālāyo; Sk omits.

6 2 Cony. Be, U bhāl; R, Sk bhālavāḥ. D bhāl; P: bhāl; Bu bhāl; T bhāl; M, G, T le- only; Bu lo- only; S lāla.

7 So Be, U, Ed, P, R, D: Sk, P: bhūlo-; D: bhūli-; M, G: bhūlavāvanā; T bhūlavāvanā, Bu bhālvāvanāḥ, S bhūriabhāvanāḥ.

read perhaps bhālvāvanā, gaṇa *tkadi*, and cf. Pān. 4, 2, 5?

- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 8. Sāvahavī | 9. Bhāṣkāvāḥā | 10. Haimagava iti |
|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
- These are Rathitaras. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Rathitara', etc.; or 'Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Pārśadaśva', etc.

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Viṣṇuvyḍdhāḥ | 6. Bhādarīyaḥ | 11. Stutā |
| 2. Sāthamarāṇāḥ | 7. Vātsaprayāṇāḥ | 12. Bhāruyāḥ |
| 3. Bhadrāṇā | 8. Sātyakāḥ | 13. Vaidhāḥ |
| 4. Madhrāṇā | 9. Sātyakāyānā | 14. Daivasthānaya iti |
| 5. Śamburīyaṇā | 10. Naitundyaḥ | |

These are Viṣṇuvyḍdhās. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadaśva', etc.

- | | | |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Mudgalā | 5. Rōyā | 8. Palambajanghāḥ |
| 2. Hiranyakṣā | 6. Rōyāyānā | 9. Taruṇā |
| 3. Rābhā | 7. Dīrghajanghāḥ | 10. Bhindavā iti |
| 4. Mitrakā | | |

These are Mudgalas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bhārmayāsa, Maudgalya', etc.

8 So A (but D: sāhavab, Da tyāvahavo); M savāvahavāḥ; G savāvahavāḥ; T savāvahavahavā; Bu svāvahavāḥ; Sk bhe-; Da -nāha; P: -kya-; Ed. bhairuvāḥ.

10 So B (but S bhairunagavab); A be-; D: meḥagavya; P: hemanāvāḥ.

2 So B, Ed.; D: śāthab marāṇab; Da śāto marāṇab; Sk śāthab marāṇab; R śāst marāṇab; Be, U, P: śāst marāṇab.

3, 4 So Ed., Sk, Caland, cf. Āpast; M: -ri- in both, cf. K. & L., W, etc.; Bu -ri-, T -ri-; P: -ra- in both; G bhadrāṇā mantriṇāḥ; P: bhadrāṇāḥ; D: bha- twice; D: 1 ma- only; R and Sk invert, and add bhadrāyāḥ.

5 So M, G; T āyambu-; Bu, Da śāmba-; S, D: śāba-; Be, U śālāyānā vatsarāya (Caland's edition mistakenly attributes the last name to Sk also); Ed., P, R, Sk omit.

6 D: omits; Da, P: -va-.

7 Be, U: mīṣṭya-; Pa mīṣṭyāḥ; P: gīṣṭya-; Ed. mīṣṭya-; Da āyab; S before no. 6.

8 P: āṣā-; D: sapākṣaḥ.

9 Da si-; Ed. satyākāḥ.

10 P: -tundā; Ed. naitundyaḥ; Da naiturthab; R neundiyab; rest naitundyaḥ—none with visarga.

11 So T, A; Pa stutā; G, Bu, S stundyaḥ; M stutāyā.

12 So Bu, Be, U, R, Sk, D: P: bhārū-; Ed. bharmā, P: bhāhanā, D: āruṇyab; S āruṇā, M āruṇā, G āruṇāḥ, T hā-nyā.

13 So T, R, Sk, P; M, G -dā; Be, U -trt; Pa -bā; S vai poḍā; Ed. vaimāḍā.

14 So M, G, cf. gaṇa *paṇḍā*; T -stā-; Bu taisthā-; S, Be, U, P: R deva-; D: daivasthānab; Da devasthāḥ; P: devasthāḥ; Ed. devasthāṣya; Sk devasthāyanab.

The Mudgalas occur here in Be, U, R, Sk (although the two latter give no account for Baudh.). In Ed. they are given before the Viṣṇuvyḍdhās, which is indeed in accord with the order given in Puroṣottama's introductory verse. P: and Pa both omit the family. The readings of Ed. as against Be, U, make it most probable that it has here depended on S, of which there is no mention in Ed.'s footnotes (cf. especially no. 8); and we may safely conjecture that the copy of Puroṣottama's work which is the common ancestor of Ed., P, D, R, Sk, was defective here. D also seems to rely on its B-source here, attributing, however, four additional names to Baudh., at the beginning of the list, stūṇā (Da sūni) chatrayab ātāpab (cf. no. 9) kārābhāṣitab.

3 So B, Ed.; D: Be rupikāḥ; U rūpabāḥ.

4 So B, D; Ed. mīṣṭ only; Be, U mīṣṭ only.

5 So B; D: 2 nṛṣṭab; Da nṛṣṭab; Be, U āyāyā; Ed. gāyo.

6 So B, D: 2 nṛṣṭab; Be, U rūpāyāḥ; Ed. viśvāyā.

8 So Be, U; B, Ed., D: janghāḥ only; D gives thus before no. 7.

9 So Be, U; Ed. taruṇā; M, G, T taruṇā; Bu taruṇā; D hiranyakṣāḥ.

10 So M, G; Ed., T bindava; Be, U bhāndakā; D: bhīd; D: omits.

W		Mān.	
5. Śaktih	5. Śaktih	5. Śaktih	
6. Patañjalir	6. Patañcalo	6. Patañjalir	
7. Bhojast ca	7. Bhojast ca	7. tñbhoya	
8. tñtaivarandhiā	8. tñjalupdhvas	8. jarudhuā	
9. tñcaitakir	9. citāśāl	9. caivaddhāl	
10. Ūrdhvāsto	10. kṛkṣṭaki	10. śītaki	
11. Rājakeśi	11. Ūrdhvaśt	11. arddhamt	
12. Kalāśikaṇṭhaḥ	12. Rājakeśi	12. Rājakeśi	
13. Kārirayo	13. caucūṭh	13. caucūṭh	
14. Vānyāyanā	14. śamāpīh	14. śamāpīh	
15. Āmāvyāyanāḥ	15. Kalāśikaṇṭhaḥ	15. Kalāśikaṇṭhaḥ	
16. Kāpyāyanā iti	16. Kārirayo	16. Kārirayo	
	17. Vānyāyanā	17. Vānyāyanā	
	18. tñvāha...	18. vīmādhmāyanāḥ	
	(lacuna)	19. kāpyāh	
	... s teṣāṃ tryāṣṭyaḥ	20. kavaya iti	
	pravarā bhavati āṅgirasa-	21. Pravarā: ang. āmahyavona-	
	māhyava ... (lacuna) ... d	22. kṣayasti	
	angirovad ity adhvaryuḥ.		

These have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āmahiyava,¹ Aurakṣaya', etc.

1. Sampkṛti-	1. Sampkṛti-	1. Sampkṛti-
2. Pūtimāṣa-	2. Pūtimāṣa-	2. Pūtimāṣi-
3. Tapdi-	3. Tapdi-	3. Tapdi-
4. Sambu-	4. Sambu-	4. śambhuḥ

5 So Ed., P, D; R, Sk dikṣva-lakṭyaḥ; cf. Matsya.	16 Conj.; Ed., P, D, Sk kātya-; R kātyā.
6 Sk patañjalyo.	3 So Ed., P; Pa, S, R tapdi; Sk tapd-
7 Conj.; Ed., P, D; bhūyas; Da bhūyāsi	avaḥ.
8 bhūyas; Sk bhūyasinah; R bhūyāsas; S	4 So S, Sk, R (śambavah); P; śampdhu;
bhūyasa	P; śaḥ; Ed. śambe; P; omits.
8 So P, R, D; P; a -dā; P; a -dā; Ed.	
tivarandhi; D; a naivarandhi; Sk tairandhiyah;	
S tairithā.	
9 So Ed., P, R, D, S; Sk -kapah; P	
cātkar.	
10 P So Sk; R u-; Ed., P, D; adhvasu; Da	
śvāsu; cf. Matsya.	
11 P; a -si; Da -ā.	
12 Restored, cf. Mān., W, Matsya, gaṇa	
upakṛti; D; kalāśikaṇṭha(r)ih; D; kalāśi-	
kaṇṭhaḥ; Ed. kalāśikaṇṭha; P kalāśikaṇṭha;	
S kalāśikaṇṭha; R, Sk kalāśikaṇṭhaḥ.	
13 So P; Ed., P; a ko-; P; a -dā; R; a -dā;	
Sk karṭayah; S kārtiṣvo.	
14 So Pa, Ed., R; P; -yānā; S, D; vāyā;	
Sk -yavāḥ; D; omits.	
15 So Sk; R -yānā; D ānā-; P; a -vayayānā;	
P; āmāvyā only; Ed., P; a omits.	

¹ MSS. āmahyava.

W		Mān.	
5. Śaivagava-	5. tñsaivavānā	5. tñsaivapāyānāṃ	
6. Jānaki-	6. Jānaki-	6. Jānaki-	
7. tñtailādharaṭavya-	7. tñtailādala-	7. tñtailavakādyatāvyā...	
8. Ārabhi-	8. Ārabhi-	8. Ārabhi-	
9. Cāryāpi-	9. Cāryāpi-	9. Cāryāpi-	
10. tñhagāngi-	10. tñbhāroyānā-	10. tñbhāroyānā-	
11. laukṣi-	11. laukṣi-	11. laukṣi-	
12. tālānagahiṭ iti	12. tālānagahiṭ iti	12. tālānagahiṭ iti	

(Both have the form Gaurivita in the pravara.)

'These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āngirasa, Sāmkṛtya, Gaurivita', etc.

1. tñomāyana-	1. tñvādhyāyana-	1. ...
2. Harita-	2. Harita-	2. Harita[h]
3. Kautsa-	3. Kautsa-	3. Kautsa-
4. Painga-	4. Painga-	4. Painga-
5. Dārbya-	5. Dārbya-	5. Dārbya-
6. Śankha-	6. Śankha-	6. Śankha-
7. Bhaimagava-	7. Bhaimagava-	7. Bhaimagava-
8. Hāstidāsi-	8. Hāstidāsi-	8. Hāstidāsi-
9. tñvāsyāpāpi-	9. tñvāsyāpāpi-	9. tñvāsyāpāpi-
10. Mādrakāri-	10. Mādrakāri-	10. Mādrakāri-

5 Restored, cf. Baudh., Adv.; Ed. saipahana;	8 ? Ed. hastyadāsi.
P; saipavānā; P; saipavānā; D; saipavānā;	10 Conj. cf. Baudh.; Ed. mādrakāri-; a Ma-
Sk bhāgavāḥ saivagavānā; R śaivagavā saiva-	drakāri is mentioned in the Vāpī-Brāhmaṇa
vānā; S. śaibuga.	of the Sāma-Veda, the two forms being
6 So Ed., P, D, Sk, R; S vṛitaki.	doubtless related as in the case of laukṣi,
7 So P; R; Ed., Pa tairāghatavaya (Pa	laukṣi.
-ghā-); D; tairandhā sūtavah; Sk tairāgh-	
atavah; P; a tairāghatavaya; S tairāgh-	
atavah; cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 8 (tairāgh-	
atavah).	
8 Conj. cf. Baudh.; Pa ṛabhi; P; ṛabhi;	
Ed. ṛabhi; S ṛabhi; R ṛanayah; R tṛya-	
bhayā; D; śaibubhi.	
9 So P; Pa, Ed., Sk, S; R vā- (Ed. also -vā);	
D; śaibubhi.	
10 So Ed., P, R, Sk sahavā gāngayo; D; sahb-	
gāngi-; S saivahulegāngi	
11 Ed. laukṣi; R laukṣayas; D; laukṣi; rest,	
laukṣi.	
12 So P; R, Sk -nā-; Ed. tālā only; S tālā-	
nāha; P; a tālā-; D; tālā nagahir.	

From the Harites to the Bṛhadukthas in-	
clusive is omitted by all the sources except Ed.,	
whose text, however, can be improved by	
a comparison with the other lists.	
5 Ed. dālbhya.	
7 Ed. bhaimagava: cf. the reading of B in	
Baudh. no. 6.	

	W	Mān.
11. Lāverapaṇḍaḥ iti	11. Lāverapaṇḍa- kaumāru- Hārta- pālāsi- Māndhātā (<ra>) iti	11. Lāverapaṇḍa kālaṣite iti
	(Pravara as in K. & L.)	

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āmbariṣa, Yauvanāśva', etc.; or 'Māndhātā, Āmbariṣa, Yauvanāśva', etc.

1. aṭha Viṣṇuvṛddhāḥ	1. aṭha Vaiṣṇuvṛddhāḥ	1. aṭha Vaisnuvṛddhāḥ
2. Sāthamarṣapa-	2. Sāthamarṣapa-	2. Sāthamarṣapa-
3. jatriṇi-	3. kṣatriṇa-	3. chattriṇa-
4. katrini-	4. chatrīṇa-	4. potṛiṇa-
5. putriṇi-	5. bhādriṇa-	5. gotṛiṇa-
6. Bādarīyaṇā iti	6. Bādarīyaṇā iti	6. Bādarīyaṇā iti
	(Pravara: āngirasa vairūpa pārśadaśva.)	(Pravara: āngirasa paura- kutaś trāsadasavya.)
	[kutaś] -rathitarāṇāṃ try- āṣṇyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa paura-kutaś trāsadasavya, etc.	rathitarāṇāṃ tryāṣṇyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa vairūpa pārśadaśva, etc.

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, *Āngirasa, Paurukutaś, Trāsadasavya', etc.¹

The Rathitaraś have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Rāthitaraś', etc.; or 'Āngirasa, Pārśadaśva, Rāthitaraś', etc.*

11 Conj., cf. W, Mān., gapa gahdā; Ed. lavenā iti.	1 aṭha vaiṣṇuvṛmib. 2 śaḍamadṛṇab.
2 Ed. śatapatriṇi.	
3-5 Read bhadrāpa, madrāpa, with Baudh., Apast.?	
	Mān.
	1 aṭha vaiṣṇuvṛdi.
	2 śaṭamadvṛṇa
	6 vadotṛṇā.
11 lāveripi. hārta.	

¹ The passage enclosed by the asterisks is conjecturally restored, but a comparison of the other lists makes it virtually certain. Ed. reads: 'āngirasa pārśadaśva rāthitaretī angirovad p. r. purukutaśām tryāṣṇyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa paura-kutaś trāsadas aṣṇi angirovad p. r.' What has happened is that one of the alternative pravaraś of the Rathitaraś has been misplaced, thus ousting the proper pravaraś of the Viṣṇuvṛddhāś; thereafter, some scribe, finding the latter without a family, has invented the Paurukutaś from the pravara itself. It is probable that the second alternative pravaraś of the Rathitaraś should be further emended to 'Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Pārśadaśva', cf. Matsya, Mān., W.

[The Brhaduktha-Vāmadevas have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaduktha, Vāmadeva', etc.]¹

	W	Mān.
	trāṣabhagānāṃ tryāṣṇyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa vāmadevya gautameti, etc.	trāṣabhagānāṃ tryāṣṇyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa vāmadevya gautameti, etc.
1. Hiranyastambī-	1. hira(ṇya)garbhā	1. hiraṇyagarbhā-
2. Sātyamugri-	2. chatrayo (corr. chaha-	2. chatrakayo
3. Maudgalā iti	3. Mudgalā iti [trayo]	3. Mudgalā iti
	(Pravara as in K. & L.)	

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya'.

1. Uruṇḍāś ca	1. Uruṇḍāś ca	1. trurumūḥkīyānā
2. Bhuruṇḍāś ca	2. Bhuruṇḍāś ca	2. ... dāś ca
3. trītiyaḥ Śākāṣāyanah	3. trītiyaḥ Śākāṣāyanah caturtho ḡgadibhoṭ nari	3. trītiyaḥ Śākāṣāyanah caturtho gardābho nari
4. tatah Prāḡāda-	4. tatah prākara-	4. tatah prākira-
5. Saunāri	5. sovarī	5. sauvāra
6. Markaṭo	6. Markaṭo	6. Markaṭo
7. Ramanah	7. Ramanah	7. Ramanah
8. Saṇah	8. Saṇah	8. Saṇah
9. Kanvā	9. Kanvā	9. Kanvā

1, 2 So Ed., P, D.
3 P: maudgalīyānā; P: mudgalīyānā.

1 Conj., cf. W, and AV 8. 6. 15, where the name denotes a class of demons. (In this connection it is perhaps pertinent to note that AV 2. 25 is a spell directed against demons named Kāvāra.) Ed. bharandāś; P: D: bharuṇḍā; D: bharuṇḍā; P: bharuṇḍāś; P: naruḍā; Sk bharuḍāḥ; R bharuṇḍā.

2 Conj., cf. W and possibly muruṇḍā (see Monier Williams' Dict. s.v.); if this is correct, nos. 1 and 2 have become transposed in Puroṣottama's text; for no. 2, Ed. hiraṇḍā; P: kharuṇḍā (P: omits); P: bharuṇḍā; D: kharuṇḍā; D: kharuṇḍā; Sk bharuṇḍā again.

3 Ed. (as in nos. 1 and 2 also) has the plural.
4 ? Ed. prāḡāda; P pramāda; D pramāda; R prākārāḥ; Sk prākārāḥ.

5 No Ed., P, D:; D: -rari.
6 R markārā.
7 P: ramaruṇḍā.
8 So Ed.; rest saṇah (P: saṇah), with dental s.

[Both W and Mān. place the Kanvāś before the Viṣṇuvṛddhāś.]

W
8 śunā (dental -n-).
9 kāvā.

Mān.
3 trītiyaḥ sāyanāś.
6 markaḍo.
7 ramanah.

¹ These are presumably dislocated from the Gautamas; Mān., W, and Matsya agree in giving them here immediately before the Mudgalas.

	W	Mān.
10. Mārkatayo	10. Mārkatayo	10. Mārkatayo
11. Rāmaṇeyāḥ	11. Rāmaṇeyāḥ	11. Rāmaṇeyāḥ
12. Śāpāyanā iti	12. Śāpāyanā iti	12. Śāpāyanā iti

(Pravara as in K. & L.)

'These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Ājamidha, Kāṇva', etc.

Now, the following are the *devāmūṣyāyana*-families¹—Bhāradvāja-Śungas and Kātā-Śaśirīs.² They have no intermarriage. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Śaunga, Śaśirī', etc.

atha yāny etāni devāmūṣyāyanaṁ kulāni bhavanti yathaitac
chaunga-śaśirīṣo³ bhāradvājāḥ śaungāḥ kātāḥ śaśirīṣa⁴ ity
eteṣāṁ avivāhaḥ teṣāṁ pañcārṇeyāḥ pravaro bhavati—

āngirasa bārhaspatya
bhāradvāja kātya
āṭkila-iti, etc.

āngirasa bārhaspatya
bhāradvāja śaunga
śaśirī-iti, etc.

- [1. Kāpīlāś ca
2. Śabarāś ca
3. Vibhīṇḍa-
4. Kauthuma-
5. Agnījīhvi ca
6. Karpas ca
7. Sūtas ca
8. Rkṣa-Bhāradvāja ita

1. Kāpīlāś ca
2. Śavarāś ca
3. Vibhīṇḍa-
4. Kauthuma-
5. Agnījīhvi ca
6. Karpas ca
7. Sūtas ca
8. Rukṣa-Bhāradvāja iti

rukṣa-bhāradvājāṅk⁵
pañcārṇeyāḥ pravaro
bhavati.

(Pravara as in K & L)⁶

10-12 give the patronymics of simplex forms
already given in the verse above (nos. 1-8);
it is possible that the verse is itself older, and
has been incorporated verbatim by the Sūtra
author.
10 So Pa; P₁ mārkataya iti; D₁ mārkatib;
D₂ mārkat ity; Ed. mārkataya.
11 Restored, cf. Mān.; Ed., Pa ramaṇaḥ; rest
omit.
12 Ed. śāpāyanāḥ; rest omit.

12 śāpāyanā.

- 1 kapīlāśas.
- 2 savatāśas.
- 3 vābhādi
- 5 agnījīhvi.
- 6 karasāśas.
- 8 (ca)ṣu-bhāradvāja.

Mān.

11 rāmaṇyāḥ.

W

10 mārkatayo.

¹ athenāni devāmūṣyāyanaṁ kulāni bhavanti.

² So P₁ bhāradvājāḥ śaungāḥ kātāḥ śaśirīṣaḥ; Ed. bhāradvājāḥ grādhāśaṅgāḥ śaśirīṣaḥ. P₂ bhāradvājāḥ śaungāḥ śaśirīṣaḥ. These of course are not Kevala-Angirases, and would no doubt have been more fittingly given among the Bhāradvājas.

³ W -āṭirāṇ; Mān. śaśirīṣa.

⁴ W omits śaungāḥ and śaśirīṣa (and also the words ity eteṣāṁ avivāhaḥ).

⁵ Mān. gives this family before the devāmūṣyāyana.

⁶ Except that W, instead of vāndana, reads dhana, dhanaśvād. Also, Mān. mātṛvacaśa, W mātṛvacaśa, both mātṛvacaśa.

These have no intermarriage. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa', etc.]¹

D. Āvalāyana

Of the Mudgalas, 'Āngirasa, Bharmyasya, Maudgalya'. But some pass over the name Āngirasa, and say 'Tarkṣya, viz. 'Tarkṣya, Bharmyasya, Maudgalya'.²

Of the Viṣṇuvyddhas, 'Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadasya', etc.

(The Gargas which come next in the Sūtra text really belong to the Bhāradvājas, q.v.)

- | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Harita- | 3. Pinga- | 5. Darbha- |
| 2. Kutsa- | 4. Śankha- | 6. Bhaimagavānām ³ |

These have 'Āngirasa, Āmbarisa, Yauvanāśva'. But some pass over Āngirasa, and say Mandhātṛ, viz. 'Mandhātṛa, Āmbariṣa, Yauvanāśva'.

- | | | |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sarpkṛtṛ- | 3. Tapḍi- | 5. Śaivagavānām |
| 2. Pūtmāsa- | 4. Śambhu ⁴ | |

These have 'Āngirasa, Gaurivita, Samkṛtya'. Or else Śakti is the founder of 'the family', viz. 'Śaktya, Gaurivita, Samkṛtya'.

Of the Kanvas, 'Āngirasa, Ājamidha, Kāṇva'. But some replace Ājamidha by Ghora, viz. 'Āngirasa, Ghaura, Kāṇva'.

Of the Kapis, 'Āngirasa, Āmahyava,⁵ Aurukṣayasa.⁷

For those who are designated by two names, e.g. Śaunga-Śaśirīs, the Śungas being Bhāradvājas, the Śaśirīs Kātas, he recites pravara-names from both sides — one from one side and two from the other, or two from one and three from the other (for a pravara cannot consist of four names or of more than five)—viz. 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Kātya, Āṭkila'.

¹ P₁ and Pa both omit this family (P₁ also omits the pravara of the preceding Śunga-Śaśirīs), and we are thus dependent on Ed. alone—indeed the readings of D, R and Sk for this family are derived hence, see the notes to Raudhā, Raudhāśaṅgāḥ. The text of Ed. is given above, except in the case of no. 8, where the form given seems a necessary correction (cf. Mān., Matsya) for Ed. bhāradvājāḥ. This family also is out of place among the Kevala Angirases, and really belongs to the Bhāradvājas, as the pravara shows. Mān., W., Matsya also give it among the Kevalas.

² P omits the alternative.

³ P₁ a-amaṇāṇām

⁴ P₂ kaṇḍu-lambhu.

⁵ Iaktir (Berl., ChRao, BiblInd.) vā mām. Pa iaktipāro mām vā.

⁶ So Berl., ChRao, BiblInd.; Ed. -hoyayog; rest in various stages of corruption.

⁷ BiblInd -arukṣayasa; the suffix -sa- is surprising, and appears in none of the other accounts.

[After his 'Bharadvāja-section', in which he quotes also the Kevala Angirases for all the lists except Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, Puruṣottama comments]:

In this pravara-section of the Angirases in three divisions as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, among the gotras enumerated, those in whose pravaras the name of Gautama, one of the seven ṛṣis, occurs, either as recited in the pravara or implicitly, have no intermarriage one with another, since they belong to the same gotra, and since Baudhāyana says: 'There is no intermarriage of any of the Gautamas.' So too, those gotra-gānas in whose pravaras the name of Bharadvāja one of the seven ṛṣis, occurs, either as recited in the pravara or implicitly, have no intermarriage one with another, since they belong to the same gotra, and since Baudhāyana says: 'There is no intermarriage of any of the Bharadvājas.' The others, the Kevala Angirases, who are outside the seven ṛṣis, Hantas, Kutsas, Kaṇvas, Rathitaras, Prṣadaśvas, Mudgalas, Viṣṇuvṛddhas, etc., do have intermarriage one with another, since there is no question of their belonging to the same gotra, but they have no marriage within their own gaṇa. This in brief is the meaning.

We shall now explain these sections in detail.

All that has already been said at the beginning of the explanation of the Bhṛgu-gotra-section, from the words: 'In the gotra-gānas here cited', down to 'We shall explain (those of the Bhṛgus)', is to be recalled here.

In the Sūtra-sections here quoted there is considerable variation between the order of their readings, particularly in the case of the Āśvalayana Sūtra. Thus, the *Śunga-śaisiris* are read at the end by Baudhāyana(?), Kātyāyana, and Āśvalayana, but by Āpastamba, etc., they are read in the middle of the *Bharadvāja-gaṇa*. Again, the *Ṛkṣas*, read by Āśvalayana in the middle of the Gautama-section, have their proper mention here. The Kapis are given immediately after the *Ṛkṣa-Angirases* by Āpastamba, etc.; but all the others give them further on. Also, Baudhāyana and the rest give the Saṃkṛtis in the present chapter, while Āpastamba gives them among the *Vasiṣtha-gānas*. Moreover, there is considerable variation in the order of the Hantas, Mudgalas, etc. This being so, we shall give our explanation according to the order of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Kātyāyana, who are in the majority.

The Bharadvājas proper (*kevala*) who come first in the lists, and the *dryāmuṣyāyana* families, the *Śunga-śaisiris* (the Śungas being Bharadvājas, the Śaisiris Kats),¹ have no intermarriage, because of identity of gotra, resulting from the occurrence of the name Bharadvāja in all their pravaras. The Gargas are established to be Bharadvājas by the occurrence of the name Bharadvāja in their pravara. The three-ṛṣi Gargas also are barred from intermarriage, since

Gargya says: 'The three-ṛṣi Gargas have no intermarriage with the Bharadvājas or the Ṛkṣas.'

If it should be argued that the Kapis are not Bharadvājas, since the name Bharadvāja does not occur in their pravara, we reply that this is a mistaken view, since Āpastamba gives them among the Bharadvāja-gānas, between two families who are acknowledged to be Bharadvājas, namely, the Gargas and the Ṛkṣas. Moreover, in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4. 19. 10, in the passage beginning: 'The universal monarch Bharata was the son of Dṛṣyanta', the names and descent of the pravara-ṛṣis of the Kapis are given by Parāśara, precisely as they appear in the text here. And in that passage, the list reads, Angiras, Brhaspati, Bharadvāja, Āmahavya, Uruṣṣya, Kapi. And since a number of hymn-composers occur (in their ancestry, the Kapis) name only three in their pravara, just as do the Rathitaras, according to the prescription of the Sūtras, and there is therefore no fault here.

The *dryāmuṣyāyana Śunga-śaisiris*. This ancient dvigotra family is cited by way of example, to show that dvigotra families of the present day are also to avoid both gotras in marriage. 'The Śungas are Bharadvājas', because they appear in the list of Bharadvājas, with the pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bharadvāja'. 'The Śaisiris are Kats', and thus Viśvāmītras, since they appear among the Viśvāmītras, with the pravara, 'Vaiśvāmītra, Kātya, Āttila'. Yājñavalkya says: 'The son who is born to a son-less man by *niyoga*, in the "field" of another, inherits from both and offers the funeral *pinda* to both, according to the law.' Now, since the *dryāmuṣyāyanas* must therefore recite pravaras from both families, and since the Sūtras prohibit a pravara of four or six names, they must recite only three or five names in their pravara. Since Kātyāyana and Laugakṣi say below: '... the first pravara is that of the begetter, the second that of the adopter', the Śunga-śaisiris have arisen from the seed of a Śunga Bharadvāja in the 'field' of a Kātya Vaiśvāmītra. The descendants therefore have a five-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bharadvāja, Kātya, Āttila'. Āpastamba gives a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āngirasa, Kātya, Āttila'.² This example is to be followed whenever several names are to be recited in a pravara from among a larger number of hymn-composers. Similarly, *putrika-putras*, sons given in adoption, or purchased, avoid both gotras in marriage, and form their pravara from both gotras after the example of the Śunga-śaisiris. Gautama's rule,³ barring marriage with 'relatives on the father's side up to the seventh generation, and also (in the family) of the begetter', must be taken to refer to cases other than *dryāmuṣyāyanas*, who avoid altogether both paternal gotras.

Since the Saṃkṛtis are given by Āpastamba at the end of the Vasiṣthas, and since in the pravara here among the Angirases, the name of Sakti, a Vasiṣtha, occurs, the question arises as to whether they are Angirases or Vasiṣthas. And

¹ Ed. *śunga-śaisirīnām bharadvāja grāhādīnām dryāmuṣyāyanādīnām*; cf. the readings in K. & L., above, p. 130.

² a. 127.

³ This seems to be a mistake.

⁴ p. 112.

⁵ GautDhS 4. 3-4.

since there is no conclusive reason why they should be one rather than the other, one must conclude that they are *devyamūṣyāṇas*. This is confirmed by the fact that Kātyāyana mentions them below¹ among the *devyamūṣyāṇa* ganas, together with undoubted *devyamūṣyāṇas*, the Śunga-Śaśtris. Therefore, the Sāmṁkṛtis avoid in marriage not only their own gana, but also all the ganas of the Vasiṣṭhas.

The five ganas, Bharadvājas proper, Rkṣas, Kapis, Gargas, and *dvigotras*, have no intermarriage, because of identity of gotra, and because of Baudhāyana's statement to this effect.

[After the Baudhāyana and Āpastamba accounts of the Kevala Angrasas, Puroṣottama comments:]

All that has been said above at the beginning of the explanation of the Bhṛgu-gotra section, from the words, 'Among the gotra-ganas here cited', down to 'We shall explain those of the Bhṛgus', is to be recalled here, because of the importance of its application.

Among those quoted here apart from the Haritas, Kutsas, Kanvas, Rathitaras, Mudgalas, Visnuvrdhas the *devyamūṣyāṇas* and Kapis² have no intermarriage with the Bharadvājas, since they are included in the Bharadvāja ganas.

Some consider that the Pṛṣadaśvas are Rathitaras. Others think that since in the *Matsya Purāṇa* the ganas of the Pṛṣadaśvas and the Rathitaras are taught separately, with distinct pravaras, they form distinct families.³ Even on this view, however, there is no intermarriage between the Rathitaras and Pṛṣadaśvas, since two out of the three *ṛṣis* in the pravaras coincide.

The Sāmṁkṛtis, since they are *devyamūṣyāṇas*, are said to have no intermarriage either with those mentioned in the Vasiṣṭha gana or with those mentioned in their own gana.

Now we shall tell of the marriage of the Haritas. The Haritas and the Kutsas have no intermarriage one with another, since two out of the three pravara-*ṛṣis* are the same, and because in the text of (Āpastamba and) Āśvalāyana identity of pravara is taught, in the list 'Harita, Kutsa, Pinga, Śankha, etc.' The others, Kanvas, Rathitaras, Mudgalas, Visnuvrdhas, do have marriage one with another, as well as with the families already mentioned, and with the Atris and the rest⁴ which are to be mentioned in the sequel.

¹ Where?

² Read *kapvadinām*, Ed. -*humādinām* (?), P: *katvadinām*, S -*julnadinām*

³ So P, I, Ed. makes nonsense of the passage by giving Brhaduktina twice in place of Pṛṣadaśva and by reading *ekapratara* instead of *prthakprata*. The argument is of course in case unound, since as we have seen the *Matsya* text is corrupt in this place. It shows, however, that the M text was corrupt at an early date.

⁴ For *atṛābhāḥ*, Ed. has *atṛābhāḥ*

CHAPTER IV

THE ATRIS

A. Baudhāyana

We shall explain the Atris:

- | | | |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Atrayo | 13. Vyālayāḥ | 25. Gaurātreyā |
| 2. Bhūrayas | 14. Śāmbavyāṇāḥ | 26. Arupātreyā |
| 3. Chāndīś | 15. Kārmāryāṇayo | 27. Nīlātreyāḥ |
| 4. Chāndoghī | 16. Dākṣis | 28. Śvetātreyāḥ |
| 5. Pauṣṭikā | 17. Taidhā | 29. Śyāmātreyā |
| 6. Māngalayāḥ | 18. Gānapatya | 30. Mahātreyā |
| 7. Saivās | 19. Audālakir | 31. datātreyā |
| 8. Chagālās | 20. Droṇābhāvā | 32. Hāleyā |
| 9. Chāgālās | 21. Gauragrīvayo | 33. Vāleyāḥ |
| 10. Tṛṇabindur | 22. Gāṣṭhīrāḥ | 34. Śaubbhreyā |
| 11. Bhāgantaṣo | 23. Śūpālāḥ | 35. Vāmarathino |
| 12. Mālaruco | 24. Kṛṣṇātreyā | |

2 So A, except for D₁, D₂, which have bhūmib; M bhūyay; G bhūyā; T bhūpēyāḥ; Bu bhūyayāḥ; P omits nos. 2 and 3.

3 So M, G, D₁; Be, U, D₂ chāndī; Pa, Bu chāndī; Sk chāndīyāḥ; Ed. sthāndī; T, R, P₁ omit.

4 So Be, U, T, P₂, D₂; D₁ chāndoghī; P₁ chāndī; Sk, R chāndogēyāḥ; M, G, Bu chāndobhī; Ed. sthāndogī.

5 So Bu, P₁, Ed., D₁; G, R paupūka; Sk paupūka; Pa prauṭikā; Be, U paupūka; T, M paupūka.

6 So B; Be, U maudga-; P₁, D₁ māhu-; P₂ māhu-; Sk māhu-; R mauna-; D₂ mautilī. Cf. perhaps the Sumangalas of Ap.

7 So B, cf. Pāp. 4. 1. 11; Be, U śepa; Ed., P₁ saupā; Pa sepa; D₂ sopā; Sk sauvā; R sau-; 8, 9 M, G, T chagala- only; Bu chāgavāḥ only; for no. 8, P₂, D₂, R chārālā; P₁ chārālā; Sk laṣālā; Be, U chārālā; Ed. sthārālā; for no. 9, A chāgālāḥ; Be, U chāgālāḥ; cf. Pāp. 4. 1. 117.

10 Be, U plural (so Caland); P₁ omits nos. 10-19.

11 Read bhāgalayo? cf. Mān.; B, D₁ bhāgantayo; Ed. bhāgampatyo; Pa bhāgartyo; R bhāgartyo; Sk bhāgatyāḥ.

12 So A (D₁ gāla-; D₂ malucayā); M, G, T, Caland malukyo; Bu mālakhojāḥ.

13 So A (Ed. vyālayāḥ); B vyālayāḥ (?); Caland vyādalāḥ.

14 So T, M -vanavah; G -vānāvah; Bu śāmbavānāḥ, Sk sāmpav-, Ed. sāmpavānavo; D₁ sāncavānāḥ; D₂ sāmpānāḥ, P₂ sāmpavāno, Be, U sāvayāḥ.

15 Cf. the other lists, Pān. 4. 1. 155 implies

kārmār- (so Mahābh.); D₁ kārṣṇāyanib; others various, but implying kārṁaryāṇi; all except T, Bu with dental n.

16 Sk dākṣīyās.

17 Sk Taidhā; D₁ Vaidehāḥ; R Taidedā; Pa Śrūdāḥ.

18 So G; Be, U, Pa gaga-; M, T gāpis-; D₂ gadhi-; R gāthipattaya-; Bu gānib svatayāḥ; Sk māyithāḥ.

20 So M, G, Bu, Ed., P₁, R, Sk; Pa droṇi-; D₁ droṇābhāḥ; D₂ droṇābhāvāḥ.

21 So D₁ D₂ only; D₂ raguagṛtvib; B and the others, gauri-, for gaura-, cf. gāpa 199. 4, Pāp. 4. 3. 131.

22 So B, P, Ed.; D₁ kāvṣṭīrāḥ; Sk māviripāḥ; R māviripāḥ.

26 So B, D, P₁; Ed. raktātreyāḥ; Pa trakātreyāḥ; Sk, R rktātreyāḥ.

31 So D only (from conflation); rest of A omitt; B ātreya only.

32-5, 38, 39 Cf. KSS ro. 2. 21.

32 So B (T halātreyāḥ); Sk, P₁, D₂, R gāl-; D₁ gāl-; Pa kāl-; Ed. gātreyā; cf. the other lists among the Putrikāputras.

33 So G, Bu, D, Sk, R; T ilēyāḥ; Be, U, P₁ vāleyāḥ (sau-); Pa, Ed. vāleyāḥ.

34 So B (Bu āstureyāḥ); D saugēyā; Pa sautreyāḥ; P₁ tyaugēyā; R saubhēyā; cf. Pāp. 4. 1. 123 (with anuvṛtti of Atri from 4. 1. 117).

35 So Be, U, P -chīnāp; G, Ed. -chīnā; M, T -chīnā; Bu vāmāḥ rathitaras; D, Sk, R vāmarathya; the last is the form of the other lists, and is supported by gāpa 58. 12, Pāp. 4. 1. 151.

	W	Mān.
14. vibāhutantra-	14. ṭnakarṇyaṇṭi	14. ṭnākaraṇyaṇṭi
15. bāhumiṭrāś ca	15. yaurakapadyo	15. paupindpy
16. jānuki-	16. cakpothavāś ca ye	16. aṭho vatsāṭthapāś ca ye
17. Taileya-	17. ālaliṭ	17. galit
18. Vaileya-	18. Chāgali	18. Chāgali
19. Ātreya-	19. Bhāgali	19. Bhāgali
20. ṭpetarjanānāṇa	20. ṭṭhānuci	20. ...
21. Bhāgāmādyana-	21. vāhuvī	21. ṭvāhu
22. Saupuspayaś	22. dantindriya	22. danyendriya
23. Chāndogir	23. daulātreya	23. daudhātreyah
	24. saudhotaki	24. saudhūtaki
	25. Vaikhānasi	25. varānaki
	26. kṛpṛaṭ	26. kṛpṛaṭ
	27. Chandogi	27. Chandogi

'These have no intermarriage' They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva', etc.

1. Dākṣir	1. Plākṣir
2. Vyālīḥ	1a. Dākṣi
3. pārpavāś ca	2. Vyālīḥ
4. Bhāllandā	3. pārpavāś (ca)
5. Aurnavāpi-	4. ālarpavīro
6. Śīlarpdharo	5. ālarpvino
7. Baijavāpiḥ	6. ālarpvāpi
8. Śīrṣaś ca	7. Śīrṣaś ca
9. Mauṣjakeśī	8. Mauṣjakeśī
10. Gaviṣṭhira	4. Bhāllandano

14 So Ed.; P₁, Sk, D₁ bāhu-; P₂ vidva-
hutaṇ; R vādutaṇṭrī.
15 So D₁; P₁, Sk R vāha-; Ed. vāha mitrāveś;
P₂ vivāhmitrāś ca.
16 So P, D₁, R; Ed. jānuki; Sk jānukayāḥ.
17, 18 These are possibly the Putrikāputras,
and should perhaps, therefore, be written
Hāleya, Vāleya, cf. Bauḥ, etc.; but the manu-
scripts indicate Taileya, Vaileya (and cf.
Matrya); Ed. tau-, vau-; P₁ the-, vau-; P₂ mau-,
vau-; D₁ tau-, vai-; D₂ tai-, e-; R and Sk
omit.
20 Read perhaps patahjala?; P₁, Sk, Ed. as
above; P₂ nañjananā; R pañjananā; D₁
pañjananā; D₂ pañjananā.
21 Cf. perhaps Bhāradvājyana in Bauḥ; all
here bhāga-; P₁ mādyra; Ed., P₂ -mādyana;
D₂, Sk -mādanāḥ; D₁ -mānāḥ; R -mānāde.
22, 23 Ed., P only.

4 So D₂, and cf. Mān. and Matrya; D₁ nāl-;
R bhāl-; P₂ bhāllanāṇā (P₁ -vaṇa); Ed. bhāla-
vanā.
5 Cf. Mān., W; D, R surpanābhi; P₁ surpa-
nāśi; P₂ ārpanābhi; Ed. arpanābhi.
6 Corrupt in the whole group; cf. Mān., W,
Matrya; Ed., P₁, D₁ vaiveya; D₂ caiveya;
P₂ varveya; R candrate.
7 So Ed., P, D₂ (vāj-); D₁ baijavāpanāḥ;
R yājavāpayo.
8 Restored from the other lists; Ed. ārami-;
P₁, D₂ apṛiḥ; P₂ ārṇiś ca. D inverts the order
of nos. 8 and 9.
9 Ed., P -keśo; D₁ -kālāḥ; D₂ maujakeśiḥ;
P₁ mauja-; P₂ moja-; R maukedāḥ.

	W
1 kaksir.	
1a damśi.	
5 (-vā) sārnapādi	
9 moj.	
8 śrīśas ca.	
4 kalāndano.	

1a dardi.
9 mauj-
8 śrīśasva.

Mān.

1 Ed. dakṣa-; P, D₂ dakṣi; D₁ lākṣiḥ.
2 So P, Ed., D₂; D₁ vyālīḥ.
3 Hopelessly corrupt in the whole group, and
supplied here, very dubiously, from the other
lists, e.g., P₁ kharāṇakṛd; Ed. khādāṇakṛd;
D₂ avarāṇakṛd; D₁ avarāḥakṛd.

	W	Mān.
10. ...	10. ...	10. ...
11. mairāyanyo	11. mairāyanyo	11. mairāyanyo
12. dhṛtiḥ	12. dhṛtiḥ	12. dhṛtiḥ
13. Sāmapuṣpi-	13. Sāmapuṣpi-	13. Sāmapuṣpiḥ
14. Sāmapuṣpi-	14. Sāmapuṣpi-	14. Sāmapuṣpiḥ
		(14a. somapuṣpiḥ)
15. Brahmapuṣpi-	15. Brahmapuṣpi-	
16. Vyāghrapuṣpi-	16. Vyāghrapuṣpi-	
17. Hiraṇyapuṣpi-	17. Hiraṇyapuṣpi-	17. Hiraṇyapuṣpiś
18. candrakāṣṭki-	18. candrakāṣṭki-	18. candrakāṣṭki
19. Kākāśīrṣi-	19. Kākāśīrṣi-	19. Kākāśīrṣi
20. kālāśiv ity eteṣām...	20. kālāśiv ity eteṣām...	20. kālāśity eteṣām...

These ten are Gaviṣṭhira. They have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Gaviṣṭhira, Paurvātiḥ', etc.

We shall explain the Putrikāputras (sons of a daughter designated by the father as a son for purposes of descent):

1. Hāleya-	1. Hāleya-	1. Hāleya-
2. Vāleya-	2. Vāleya-	2. Vāleya-
3. Kaudreya-	3. Kaudreya-	3. Kaudreya-
4. Vāmarathya-	4. Śaubhreya-	4. Śaubhreya-
5. Putrikā	5. Vāmarathya-	5. Vāmarathya-
	6. Gaupavana-	6. Gaupavana-
	7. Putrikā	7. Putrikā
	(Pravara as K. & L.)	
	8. viṣṭira (-gaviṣṭhira?)	8. viṣṭira (-gaviṣṭhira?)
	9. putrikāputrā	9. putrikāputrā
	(Pravara: ātr. gaviṣṭhira	(Pravara: ātr. gaviṣṭhira
	putriketi.)	putriketi.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Vāmarathya, Paurvika', etc.

'D. Āvalāyana

Of the Atris, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva'.
Of the Gaviṣṭhira, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Gaviṣṭhira'.
Of the Pūrvātiḥ, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Paurvātiḥ'.¹

1 So P, D, R; Sk dal-; Ed. had-.	1 hālovā
2 So P ₂ , D, R; Ed. vāveya; P ₁ vāveṭva	2 vāleya.
3 So P ₁ , Sk, D ₂ laudraṇo, D ₁ kereva, Ed. kaureva, R kauremāḥ, P ₂ kauleva R and Sk add Saubhreya and Gopavana to the Putrikā- putras	

Mān.

¹ So P for Āvalāyana. Ed. has atrinām ātreya-ārcanānasa gaviṣṭhira, pūrvātiḥnām ātreya-
ārcanānasa paurvātiḥ. The BiblInd edition and Chentais Rao in his separate printing of
Āvalāyana have: atrinām ātreya-ārcanānasa gaviṣṭhira, gaviṣṭhiraṇām ātreya gaviṣṭhira paurvāti-
ti. Nārāyaṇa's commentary also recognises only two divisions. atra dvividhā atraya uktāḥ;
anyātrāṇyo ca sūtri. The Berlin manuscripts agree with BiblInd.

E. *Matrya Purāṇa*

The fish said: learn from me the founders of gotras who have sprung from the family of Atri:

1. Kārmayāṣṭi-
2. Sāṅkheyā-
3. tathā Śāṅkheyāś ca ye
8. Aundālakī-
9. Śaundakī-
10. aho Sautkavāś ca ye
11. Gauryāś ca ye
12. Karājī-
13. aho Cetrīyopāś ca ye

17. Tulyeś ca
18. sa-Vaileya
19. Atri
20. Gēnapatis utthā
21. jāśodo
22. bhagupādāś ca
23. udgaragvī-
24. Sāupāsīś ca mahatpāl-
25. baidhī-
26. Chāṇodeyaś

These are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Śyāśvā, and Atri, and Ārcanasa. These ṛṣi are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Dākṣ
2. Vyāhī
3. Pūrāvāś ca
5. Aurnavāpī-
6. Śārdanā-
7. Bhājanāpī-
8. Śīrṣāś ca
9. Nandjakṣī
10. Bhādanāpī-

These are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Atri, and Gaviṣṭhira, and Pūrvaṭthi. These ṛṣi are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. So p, with minor variants; (also with dental n); M karṇānyasa-
2. p anpheyāś (Dz sāṅkheyāp); M sāṅkheya-
3. So M; p at- (Dz atāpēgab); R atāpēgab-
8. So p; Ed. udātāpāb; M udātāpāb.
9. M: fove; p: fove; Ed. fove;
10. So p; R, Dz fove; Ed. fove;
11. M: fove; M atthā (at) saukravāś
12. M gaurāś.
13. So M; p jar-

4. Probably the reading of m; Ed. ārguparī-
5. D. ārguparī; P. ārguparī; R. ārguparī;
6. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
7. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
8. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
9. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
10. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
11. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
12. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
13. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
14. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
15. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
16. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
17. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
18. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
19. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
20. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
21. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
22. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
23. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
24. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
25. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
26. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;

1. So p, with minor variants; (also with dental n); M karṇānyasa-
2. p anpheyāś (Dz sāṅkheyāp); M sāṅkheya-
3. So M; p at- (Dz atāpēgab); R atāpēgab-
8. So p; Ed. udātāpāb; M udātāpāb.
9. M: fove; p: fove; Ed. fove;
10. So p; R, Dz fove; Ed. fove;
11. M: fove; M atthā (at) saukravāś
12. M gaurāś.
13. So M; p jar-
14. Probably the reading of m; Ed. ārguparī-
15. D. ārguparī; P. ārguparī; R. ārguparī;
16. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
17. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
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22. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
23. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
24. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
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1. So p, with minor variants; (also with dental n); M karṇānyasa-
2. p anpheyāś (Dz sāṅkheyāp); M sāṅkheya-
3. So M; p at- (Dz atāpēgab); R atāpēgab-
8. So p; Ed. udātāpāb; M udātāpāb.
9. M: fove; p: fove; Ed. fove;
10. So p; R, Dz fove; Ed. fove;
11. M: fove; M atthā (at) saukravāś
12. M gaurāś.
13. So M; p jar-
14. Probably the reading of m; Ed. ārguparī-
15. D. ārguparī; P. ārguparī; R. ārguparī;
16. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
17. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
18. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
19. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
20. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
21. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
22. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
23. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
24. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
25. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;
26. This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lita was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavāśā); Ed. P; R. ārguparī; R. ārguparī; M: ārdhāpāyā;

Next learn from me the Putrīka-putras of Atri:

1. Hāleyāś ca
2. aa-Vāleya
3. Vāmanāthyas tathāiva ca
4. Sāubhreyāś caiva
5. Kandreyas

These have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Atri, and Vāmanāthyas and Paurika. These ṛṣi are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The founders of gotras of the family of Atri, of great might, have been told to you, O king, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

Puruṣottama comments:

There is no intermarriage of these Atri-gotra-gaṇas, because of the identity of gotra resulting from the fact that the name of Atri, who is one of the seven ṛṣi, occurs in all the pravaras, and also because two of the three ṛṣi in the pravaras coincide. The Putrīka-putras avoid both gotras in marriage, and a *fortiori* their own gaṇa, because of identity of pravara.

1 M, P, Ed. kileya. M gives all these in the plural, p in the singular.

M dhātreyāś caiva saubhreyāś. In the pravara, P alone reads paurikaś ca mahan (pū). Nand Ed. agree in the improbable saubhreyāś caiva saubhreyāś; P: saubhreyāś caiva form paurikaś caiva.

1 M, P, Ed. kileya. M gives all these in the plural, p in the singular.

M dhātreyāś caiva saubhreyāś. In the pravara, P alone reads paurikaś ca mahan (pū). Nand Ed. agree in the improbable saubhreyāś caiva saubhreyāś; P: saubhreyāś caiva form paurikaś caiva.

Mān.

W

1. Karmadaka-
2. Dhanarajya-
3. Parikola-
4. Parthiva-
5. Pāpini-
6. (Kauśika) iti

1. atha Karmadaka-
2. Dhanarajya-
3. Parikola-
4. Parthiva-
5. Pāpini-
6. Kauśikāś caiteya-

aghamaṣaṇā iti

Pravara: Vaiś. mādhuccandasa, āghamaṣaṇa (eo both).

Or (W only) vaiś. kauśika, āghamaṣaṇa¹

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhuccandasa, Dhānarijya', etc.

1. Āmarathyaḥ
2. Karmukyanino
3. Bandhulāḥ
4. (Kauśika) iti

1. Āmarathyaḥ
2. Karmukyanino
3. Bandhulāḥ (venula-)
4. Kauśika iti

Kauśikāḥ

āṅgulava

ghorakamukhāḥ

karkarāyā itī

Pravara vaiś. āmarathya

bandhula-kauśikāḥ

(Both omit the Aghamaṣaṇa-Kauśikāś.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āmarathya, Bandhulā', etc.

The Aghamaṣaṇa-Kauśikāś have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āghamaṣaṇa, Kauśika', etc.

The Pūrāṇa-Vaidhāpāntas² have no intermarriage. They have a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Paurāṇa', etc.

The Lobhita-Aṣṭakas have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Lauhita, Aṣṭaka', etc.³

P (with the nibandhas) omits from the *ṛṣi* of the *Āṣṭa* to before that of the *Pravara*, viduḥ, which may be the better reading.
P omits the Aghamaṣaṇa-Kauśikāś

1. atha kamadaka.

5 pāpini.

2 For Karmukyanino, cf. *gṛha nāḍhā*.

3 So Ed. If, as is likely, this is the same name

as in the *pravara*, P has viduḥ (Ed. in *pravara*, viduḥ, which may be the better reading).

Both pravara seem to be wrong comparison with the other sources suggesting a lacuna; if this is so, the pravara here should belong to the Aghamaṣaṇa Kauśikāś which both omit here

² So P, D, Pz *śrīdhātānta*(s), Ed. *pūrdhātānta*(s).

³ Pz omits Lauhita in the Hotṛ's pravara (but not in the Adhvaryu's).

W

prairāḥ (lacuna) ... pāpini
boḍi pāpiniyā pāpiniyā
visvāmītrav ity adhvaryūḥ
asaka lokuḍān dvayārṣyaḥ
pravara bhavati vaiśvāmītrā-
ṣṭakē boḍi, etc.

1. Audumban-
2. Saisirya-
3. Taidya-
4. Tairya-
5. Tairya-
6. Tairya-
7. Tairya-
8. Tairya-
9. Tairya-
10. Tairya-
11. Tairya-

1. athadumbantya-
2. Saisirya-
3. Taidya-
5. Tairya-
6. Tairya-
7. Tairya-
8. Tairya-
9. Tairya-
10. Tairya-
11. Tairya-

Kauśikā

āṅgulava

ghorakamukhāḥ

karkarāyā itī

Pravara vaiś. āmarathya

bandhula-kauśikāḥ

(Both omit the Aghamaṣaṇa-Kauśikāś.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Kāya, Āṭika', etc.

There are three families of the Rāṇavas:

trīṇy etiñit sukṣāṇit
kullān bhavanti
1. kathyakā
2. svodbraga-

1. Kāthakā

2. Kāthakā

3. Kāthakā

4. Kāthakā

5. Kāthakā

6. Kāthakā

7. Kāthakā

8. Kāthakā

9. Kāthakā

10. Kāthakā

11. Kāthakā

12. Kāthakā

13. Kāthakā

14. Kāthakā

15. Kāthakā

16. Kāthakā

17. Kāthakā

18. Kāthakā

19. Kāthakā

20. Kāthakā

21. Kāthakā

22. Kāthakā

23. Kāthakā

24. Kāthakā

25. Kāthakā

Mān.

prairāḥ (lacuna) ... pāpini
boḍi pāpiniyā pāpiniyā
visvāmītrav ity adhvaryūḥ
asaka lokuḍān dvayārṣyaḥ
pravara bhavati vaiśvāmītrā-
ṣṭakē boḍi, etc.

1. athadumbantya-
2. Saisirya-
3. Taidya-
5. Tairya-
6. Tairya-
7. Tairya-
8. Tairya-
9. Tairya-
10. Tairya-
11. Tairya-

Kauśikā

āṅgulava

ghorakamukhāḥ

karkarāyā itī

Pravara vaiś. āmarathya

bandhula-kauśikāḥ

(Both omit the Aghamaṣaṇa-Kauśikāś.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Kāya, Āṭika', etc.

trīṇy etiñit sukṣāṇit
kullān bhavanti
1. kathyakā
2. svodbraga-

1. Kāthakā

2. Kāthakā

3. Kāthakā

4. Kāthakā

5. Kāthakā

6. Kāthakā

7. Kāthakā

8. Kāthakā

9. Kāthakā

10. Kāthakā

11. Kāthakā

12. Kāthakā

13. Kāthakā

14. Kāthakā

15. Kāthakā

16. Kāthakā

17. Kāthakā

18. Kāthakā

19. Kāthakā

20. Kāthakā

21. Kāthakā

22. Kāthakā

23. Kāthakā

24. Kāthakā

25. Kāthakā

3. codvabhayās ceti

2. codvabhayā ca...
(lacuna). . . teśān tryāṣṣyabh
pravarō bhavati vāsī kuthaka
kāṭhakeṇ hoḍā kāṭhakevāt
kathakavāt vāṣv. i. a.

3. środhāyās ceti
pravara: vāsī kuthaka
kāṭhakeṇ hoḍā kāṭhakevāt
kathakavāt vāṣv. i. a.

'These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛpi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina,¹ Raiṇava', etc.

Several additional families are given by W and Mān.:

W

Mān.

gāthino repavās teśān, etc., pravara: vāṣī
gāthina raṇava, etc.

suvarṇaretasānāṁ dvāṛṣyabh, etc., vāṣī.
suvarṇaretaseti hoḍā suvarṇaretovāt vāṣv
i. a.

hirṇyaretasānāṁ dvāṛṣyabh, etc., vāṣī.
hirṇyaretaseti hoḍā hirṇyaretovāt vāṣv.
i. a.

kupotaretasānāṁ dvāṛṣyabh (as in pre-
ceding).

ghṛtakauśikānāṁ dvāṛṣyabh (as in pre-
ceding).

gāthina repavās (śī) teśān, etc., vāṣī.
gā (śī) na repaveti (śī), etc.

(The Śāpura-Māhira are not in W)

1. kāmāyāni-

2. āśāpā

3. ābhula-

4. yobhula-

5. oha-

6. koluba-

7. ābhula-

8. ābhula-

9. omula-

10. phāgula-

11. ānula-

12. yānvi, iti

(Pravara: vāṣī, ābhula māhula, etc.)

The order of the *gṛhas* differs from K. & L. Mān. has after the *Devatavanas*: *Trukhar*, *Dhanamjaya*, *Aja*, & *Asa*, *Pūṣa-Vāridhāyanta*, the *Asmarit* as come after the *Sāhula-Māhula* in W; while both have the *Kaśa* as the first family

3 So P; P₂, Ed. *Khodvabhayās ceti* (for -4 caud-?).

¹ Ed. *gāthina*.

D. *Āvalāyana*

1. Ckita-

2. Gālava-

3. Kālavā-

4. Manuṣa-

5. Kuśitānā-

These have 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivartā, Andala'.

Of the *Sraumata-Kāmāyana*, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivartavasa, Daivartavasa'.

Of the *Dhanamjaya*, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhuccandasa, Dhānamjaya'.

Of the *Aja*, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhuccandasa, Āja'.

Of the *Rohiṇa*,¹ 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhuccandasa, Āṣṭaka'.

Of the *Aptaka*, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhuccandasa, Āṣṭaka'.

Of the *Pūṣa-Vāridhāyanta*, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivartā, Paurapa'.

Of the *Kaśa*, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Kāṭya, Ākila'.

Of the *Aghmarāṣa*, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āghmarāṣa, Kausika'.

Of the *Reṇu*, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina, Raiṇava'.

(Of the *Veṇu*, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina, Vaiṇava'.)²

1. Śālakāyana-

2. Śālaka-

3. Lohitaka-

4. Lohita-

5. Jahnūnāp

'These have: 'Vaiśvāmitra, Śālakāyana, Kausika'.

E. *Matsya Purāṇa*

The fish said: O king, I shall tell you of Atri's other family.³ The famous Soma was the son of Atri, and in his family was born the king Viśvāmitra, who attained Brahmanhood by his austerity.⁴ His family I shall recount to you; listen while I speak:

1. Vāṣvāmuro

2. Devartas

3. tathā Caikita-

4. Gālavau

7. Vatapāś ca

8. Śālakāś ca

3 So *Bṛhad* ed.; cf. *Āṣṭaka*; other, *Kālavau*.

4 So P₂, B₁, *Bṛhad* ed., *Chitra*; Ed.

manava; P₁ manava.

3 in unanimously, *vaiśvā-*

3 Ed., P₁ *vaiśvāmitra*; P₂ *vaiśvāmitra*.

4 Ed. *pāś*.

5 P omits Daivartas from the pravara.

6 This family, omitted in *Bṛhad*, is apparently by the other sources; but it is virtually certain that it is a variant reading of the *Reṇu*.

7 The *Prasa-darpana* is careful to remark, that, in spite of this genealogy, it must not be

delivered that the Atris and Viśvāmītras should not intermarry, a common ancestor being of

itself no bar to marriage, provided the *tri-gotras* are different

8 Reading *tu tapasā*, with M; Ld. *tapasā*.

9. aho Ādāvastyanāḥ	15. yā ca Kāṣṭhā	21. Paṣṣayā
10. Svāmīyānā	16. Sāṃpṛyā	22. Hṣapā
11. Vājīvalkyā	17. aho Sauratī	23. tṛadibhābhāṣyā
12. Jābhāḥ	18. Aulīkṣā	24. tṛadhiṇāvā ca
13. Sandhaviyānāḥ	19. Aupagāhāḥ	25. Kuṣṭikāḥ
14. Bābhṛayā	20. Pārcdayāḥ	

These are all said to have a three-*ṛsi* pravara, *Vśvāmītra*, and *Devārāṭa*, and *Udala*† of great austerity. These *ṛsis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. devaśravāṣṭh sujīteyāṣṭh 2. saumukṣhāḥ kāmukṣyānāḥ
[kūśikāś ca]
- These are all said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Devasravas, Devatara,² and Visvāmītra. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

3. *Mārgamitrā* 1. *tatha Ajā ca* 2. *Madhucchandas eva ca*
 These *ṛṣi* are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara,³ Viśvamitra, and Ājya, and Madhucchandas. These *ṛṣi* are said to have no intermarriage on with another.

2. Dhananjayaḥ
1. Kamaṇḍakab
3. Parikṛpāś ca
4. Parthivaḥ
5. Pāpināś caiva

All these are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara . . . ⁴ Viśvāmītra, and Madhucchandas, and Aghamarsana. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

9. Ed. *śāva* vṛttanub. P1 āśvavātanub.
P2 āśvavātanub. D1 āśvavātanub.
P3 āśvavātanub. M āśvavātanub.
D2 āśvavātanub. M āśvavātanub.
15 M (śābhavayata) ca karṇiṣa ca.
D2 karṇiṣa bh. karṇiṣa.
23 So P2, Ed. pabhaibhavaṣa, P1 prandhā-
bhavaḥ; D1 pabhaibhavaḥ; Kṛṣ pādśāla,
bhavaḥ; M pādśāla;
24, 25 So Ed., M. P yamaḍuta (P1 yamaḍuta)
mayavayata.

The Devanāgaras are omitted entirely by
 16 Restored; M *saṃśrūṭyā*; p, D: *saṃśrūṭyā*;
 D 2 -*srjā*; Kf: *saṃśrūṭyāna*.
 17 Restored; M *saṃśrūṭyā* Ed p. D
 Ed. and P.

- The correct reading is *srausamāṣa kāmākā*
 ymāhi; M: *sasunāhi*; Ma: *sasunāhi*; both
 lacinated; Ma: *repora s vi, kāruṇakyaṇab-*
 2 Restored; M: *vaidheṣṭi v.*
- 3 *M adyāmītra* (from the previous).
 1 M: *adyāmītra* ca.

1 No restored. Ld, D, h's karmadhivah
(-dhiv); P kmadhivah; M kapadeyah.
3 D; parthav.
4 Ed. (purkūpa) sa-parthivah; M vocative,
parthiv.

¹ So P₁; Ed., M₂ uddāla; M₁ uddrāla.

^a Restored; M decarboxo.

³ Ed. omits this family down to this point. M has only the passage which Ed. omits, and inserts it out of place after the *Dharmajayas*.

2. Kāmukavyāsinas caiva 1. Āśmarathyaḥ tathaiṣa ca 3. Bandhuloh 4. Kauśītas
These are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Viśvāmītra, and Āśmarathya, and Bandhuloh of great austerity. These ṛṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

(The Vāridhāpayaṅgas and Pūraṇas)—Viśvāmītra and Pūrapa are said to be their two pravara(-sis).² The Pūraṇas and the Vāridhāpayaṅgas have no inter-marriage.³

The Lohitas and Asṭakas—these are said to have a three-*ṣṭi* pravara, Viśvāmītra, and Lohita, and Asṭaka of great austerity. The Asṭakas never have intermarriage with the Lohitas.

1. atha Raghū
2. Kṛṇṇhaś ca
3. *ṛṣi*ś hṛdāyāni tatthā
4. *ṛṣi*ś tṛkṣyāyāni tatthā
5. All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Rāmavaś and Gāthinaś
6. Kṛtyāyānib
7. *ṛṣi*ś tṛkṣyāyāni tatthā
8. Lāvaki
9. Śāṇḍilya-
10. Maunīyāniś ca bhagvān

These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Katyā, and Ātīkī⁶ and Vīśvāmītra.

These *pus* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

Purusottama comments:

There is no intermarriage at all between the *ganas* of Viśvāmitra listed here, Devarāta, etc., and a *fortiori* there is no marriage within a man's own *gana*, because of sameness of *pravara*.

- [illegible]

¹ So Kṛ. P 1: Pa vādhut: Ed. bandhuli: M. vādhuli.

³ P. omnia tua whole sentence; the passage in brackets (e.g. *vārādhīpāyantaī cariva pāraṇāī* *taivaśca ca*) is supplied conjecturally in place of the hopelessly muddled reading of M and EA. *vaśāmitra khatāī ca aśāśāī pāruṇāī tālha*

⁶ Ed. M.2 mas an: P1 một ăn, P2 một ăn.

¹ So P¹ only; I, d. grahina. P² grahina. M² gahina
² So restored (e.g. kityat' avu tashastel'), all the sources corrupt; Ed sans tashā avadotomr;
P¹ sooyatis tashā avadotomr; P² sooyamunsi ca avadotomr; M² gives
var. lect. kityā kashimukhā vādilo.

63. *Sauvāśvaseva* 71. *Hotā*
64. *Vāśvāpāyānāb* 72. *Sucayāb*
65. *Vāśvāpāyānāb* 73. *Kharobhā*
66. *Kāśāyā* 74. *Āyāśubhā*
67. *Ākūṭīyānāb* 75. *Āyāśubhā*
68. *Māṅṣāyānāb* 76. *Pāṭhikāyā*
69. *Kāśāyānāb* 77. *Gaṇṣāyānāb*
70. *Dātva* 78. *Hiranyavāpā*

These are *Nidhrava-Kāśāyānāb*. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśāyā, Āvatsara, Nāidhrava', etc.

The *Rebhas* have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśāyā, Āvatsara, Raibha', etc.

1. *Sandilāb* 5. *Audānāb*
2. *Kauṭhāb* 6. *Sauṭhānāb*
3. *Pāyāb* 7. *Sāvacāb*
4. *Pāyāb*

- 63 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
65 Ed. *avāśvānāb*; S *āurāpānāb*; S *avāśvānāb*.
66 *Ākūṭīyānāb*, P1 *ākūṭīyānāb*.
67 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
68 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
69 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
70 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
71 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
72 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
73 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
74 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
75 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
76 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
77 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
78 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.

- 79 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
80 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
81 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
82 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
83 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
84 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
85 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
86 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
87 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
88 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
89 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
90 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
91 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
92 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
93 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
94 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
95 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
96 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
97 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.

11. *māhāyā* 19. *Vāśvābāyā*
12. *māhāyā* 20. *Gobhā*
13. *Kāśāyā* 21. *Vāśvāyā*
14. *[Kāśāyā]* 22. *Vāśvāyā*
15. *māhāyā* 23. *Bāhāyā*
16. *Āvatsāb* 24. *Bhāyā*
17. *Kāśāyā* 25. *Gādhābāyā*
18. *Gādhāyā*

These are *Sandilās*. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśāyā, Āvatsara, Śāpāla', etc.; or 'Kāśāyā, Āvatsara, Dāvala', etc.; or 'Kāśāyā, Āvatsara, Āstā', etc.; or 'Śāpāla, Āstā, Dāvala', etc.

1. *Leubhāyā* 4. *Vādhā*
2. *Dābhāyā* 5. *Kāśāyā*
3. *Mātravāyā* 6. *Kāpāyā*

- 11 So P, R, D; Ed. *māhāyā*; Sk *māhāyā*.
12 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
13 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
14 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
15 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
16 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
17 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
18 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
19 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
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22 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
23 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
24 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
25 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
26 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
27 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
28 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
29 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
30 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
31 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
32 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
33 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
34 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
35 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
36 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
37 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
38 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
39 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
40 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
41 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
42 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
43 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
44 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
45 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
46 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
47 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
48 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
49 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
50 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
51 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
52 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
53 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
54 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
55 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
56 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
57 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
58 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
59 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
60 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
61 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
62 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
63 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
64 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
65 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
66 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
67 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
68 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
69 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
70 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
71 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
72 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
73 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
74 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
75 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
76 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
77 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.
78 So M, G, T; Bu *auri*-S; A *āvir*-D; as two names; D2, P2 *auv*.

	W	Mān.
13. <i>†mātrtyā</i>	19, 20. <i>sighrabāhukāyanaḥ</i>	
14. <i>†vaivakaya</i>	<i>supāpātvetayo</i>	
15. <i>†trakayo</i>	14. <i>vaikamkasyaḥ</i>	14. <i>vaidhakayah</i>
16. <i>Bhauvanāḥ</i>	15. <i>śaikayā</i>	15. <i>ślokatyā</i>
17. <i>Paithinasāḥ</i>	<i>śaikayo</i>	
18. <i>Saindhavāḥ</i>	16. <i>jaś ca bhauṁāni</i>	16. <i>yaś ca bhaumani</i>
19. <i>Sighragā</i>	21. <i>devātāḥ</i>	21. <i>devatayā</i>
20. <i>Āhvagiyakā</i>	22. <i>gomajātāḥ</i>	22. <i>gomajātā</i>
21. <i>Devayātāḥ</i>	23. <i>tho vatsāyathayāś ca ye</i>	23. <i>†cho tthāsvayāṁsvāpa</i>
22. <i>Somayāgā</i>	39. <i>Dhūmrīyānāś</i>	39. <i>Dhūmrīyānāḥ</i>
23. <i>atho †paśīrāvayāś† ca</i>		<i>subahūś ca</i>
24. <i>†duda</i>	[ye]	<i>atho ṛṣyāyāḥ</i>
25. <i>Gavyāyānāḥ</i>		<i>kāṣṭhyāḥ</i>
26. <i>Śatruhayo</i>		<i>svāroyaḥ</i>
27. <i>Hydrogāḥ</i>		<i>śākavāyānāḥ</i>
28. <i>Kāśyānāś</i>	26. <i>chastrahayayo</i>	26. <i>śatrbhāyo</i>
29. <i>Cakradharmī</i>	<i>bhriyogārī-</i>	<i>bhriyogādīḥ</i>
30. <i>Mahācakradharmī</i>	<i>śeṣagāḥ</i>	<i>śarākāḥ</i>
31. <i>†śarīyayāḥ</i>	<i>kāṣṭhyāḥ</i>	<i>kāṣṭhyāḥ (sic)</i>
32. <i>hārkarayō†</i>	<i>śākādāḥ</i>	<i>śākādāḥ</i>
33. <i>Dākṣapāyayo</i>	<i>śālīhotrīyānāś ca ye</i>	<i>śālīhotrāś</i>
34. <i>Hāstidāsi-</i>	<i>gādyāyānāś</i>	<i>cāvamājānanāthāḥ</i>
	29† <i>cākṛayamimā</i>	<i>kuvamimāḥ</i>
	<i>cakra</i>	<i>cakradāḥ</i>
	33. <i>Dākṣapāyayo</i>	33. <i>Dākṣapānavo</i>
	(55). <i>Māricayo</i>	(55). <i>Māricavo</i>
	<i>Māśasāravir</i>	<i>Māśasāravir</i>
	44. <i>Āgnisarmāyānāś ca ye</i>	44. <i>Āgnisarmāyānāś ca ye</i>
	34. <i>Hāstidāsi-</i>	34. <i>Hāstidāsi</i>

35. <i>Vātsyapāni-</i>	<i>paṭlagmolā-</i>	<i>yaulmailitā-</i>
36. <i>Hāstīyāna-</i>	37. <i>Ānyakrūḥ</i>	37. <i>Ānyakrū-</i>
37. <i>Ānyakrū-</i>	42. <i>Kauśitakāḥ</i>	42. <i>Kauśitakā-</i>
38. <i>†vaumula-</i>	(see below)	<i>saumirī</i>
39. <i>Dhūmrīyāna-</i>	<i>kaunda-</i>	<i>kandāḥ</i>
40. <i>†svavabhrstha-</i>	<i>vāyut-</i>	<i>vāyani-</i>
41. <i>atho Āsvavātāyānāḥ</i>	<i>āruṇi-</i>	<i>vāruṇi-</i>
42. <i>Kauśitakāḥ</i>	<i>vaivari-</i>	<i>vaivari-</i>
43. <i>khagadā</i>	<i>śavayo</i>	<i>śavayayo</i>
44. <i>atho Āgnisarmāyānāś ca ye</i>	49. <i>hasti-</i>	<i>jughāna-</i>
45. <i>†maubhuyāḥ</i>		49. <i>Hāstīkāśyapa-</i>
46. <i>Kauśasevāḥ</i>	46. <i>Kauśaseya-</i>	47. <i>Paithinasā-</i>
47. <i>Kāśvāhāvano</i>	<i>prātīceya-</i>	46. <i>Kauśaseya-</i>
48. <i>Dvīhāvano</i>	<i>prātīceya-</i>	<i>prātīceya-</i>
49. <i>Hastvakāśyapa-</i>	<i>prātīceya-</i>	<i>saśyāgnā-</i>
50. <i>Sānuśrutā-</i>	<i>prātīceya-</i>	<i>saśyāgnā-</i>
51. <i>Hāritavāna-</i>	<i>vasav a-</i>	<i>vasamopa-</i>
52. <i>Mātānga-</i>	<i>saumītri-</i>	(see above)
53. <i>Somabhuvā iti</i>	<i>yov adami-</i>	<i>dārbrāḥ</i>
	<i>pālīśyānā</i>	<i>pālīśyānāḥ</i>
	<i>harlari-</i>	
	<i>māhakti-</i>	
	<i>pārsakti-</i>	
	<i>kāśyapi</i>	
	17. <i>Paithinasi-</i>	

13 So Ed., P, Da, R, Sk; D: *mātrtyā*; S *mātrtyā*.
 14 So Ed., P; Sk, P: *rai-*; S *vaidhulakayah*; rest omit.
 15 So all, except Ed. *prai-*; S *svai-*; Sk omits.
 16 P: *-mā*.
 17 ? So S, cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 21, *saudhavi*; P *saindhavavāḥ*; Ed. *sadhavāḥ*; P: *saidha-*
bhāḥ.
 19 Conj.; D: *sighrabāḥ*; Da *śodhragāḥ*; R, Sk *caitrāgāḥ*; P *caipragā*; P: *saighranāś* (with the syllable *nā* noted for deletion); Ed. *capragā*; S *vaidhrākā*.
 20 So R, Sk, S; P: *śtra-*; Pa *śtra-*; Ed. *dhāhva-*; D: *śhu-*; Da *āruḡyānāḥ*.
 21 So S, Sk, D: *Ed.*, Pa, Da *-pātāḥ*; R *devātāḥ*; P: *-pālāḥ*, corr. to *-pātāḥ*.
 22 So all (except S *-yātā*); but cf. the other lists.
 23 So P: (with *ca* for *ca ye*); Ed. *athopā-*
vāyāḥ; Pa *athopāśvāyāḥ*; S *śeśvā-*
vaṇāś ca; R *upaśvāyāvatyay*; D: *upaśvāyā-*
vaḥ; Da *upaśvāyāḥ* ve; Sk omits.
 24 So Ed., P, R; Da *duidrup*; D: *duḥ*; S *da*.
 25 P *ga-*; rest, *gā-*.

26 So Ed., Da, R; Sk *-hryāḥ*; D: *satrehiḥ*.
 P: *śatr-*; P: *śatraritavāna-mātānga-*.
 27 So P, D, I *hryōḡā*, P: *drghōḡā*.
 28 S *kācakāvanāḥ*.
 31 So Ed., P, P: *traupa-*, Sk, R *traupa-*.
 S *traṣā*, D: *traupanavāḥ*, D: *stevanāḥ*.
 32 So P, Sk, D; R *hārke-*; Ed. *hārkaratho*.
 S *hārkarayō*.
 33 So Ed., Pa, R, S; Sk *-yāpāyo*; P: *dākṣā-*
nāpa-.
 34 So Ed., Da; D: *hāstīḥ* only; P: *hastidāsi*.
 P *hastidāsi*; R, Sk *hastayo dāsayo*.

	W	Mān.
33. <i>dākṣavāpāyayo</i>		
55. <i>māricavo</i>		
<i>māśasāravir</i>		
44. <i>-as ca ve</i>		
34. <i>hāstidāsi</i>		
33. <i>paksapānavāḥ</i>		
<i>māśasāravir</i>		
44. <i>āgnisarmāyānāś ca ye</i>		
34. <i>hāstidāsi</i>		

46. *kaikaśeṣa*.

42. *kaistakti*.
 17. *paithināsa*.

	W	Mān.
7. sairandhri-		
8. rājasavaki-		
9. sāuci-		
10. Kāpuṭi-		
11. Pingākṣi-		
12. Laugākṣi-		
13. āśaradvata iti		
	19. āśandri kupaivayā so 'stami kāyusavika	7. Śauramghri aupāśāvīyah saumyapākoyuṣṭi kālaśi
	12. Laugākṣi 13. āśarantaba ity eteṣāṃ tryaśceyāḥ pravaro bhavati, kāśyapāvatsāra āśa- stambeti hotā, etc.	12. Lokākṣa- 13. sva idamdha ity eteṣāṃ avivāha teṣāṃ, etc., as in K. & L.
	Both Mān. and W give the Laugākṣis immediately after the Nidhravas.	

These are Vasiṣṭhas by day (*prātar*) and Kāśyapas by night. They have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Vasiṣṭha', etc.

D. Āvalāyana

Of the Kāśyapas, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita'.

Of the Naidhravas, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhrava'.

Of the Rebhas, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha'.

Of the Saṇḍilas, 'Saṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala', or 'Kāśyapa, Āsita, Daivala'.

E. Matsya Purāṇa

The fish said. Kāśyapa was the son of Marici; I shall tell the *ṛṣis* who were founders of gotras in the Great-family (mahakula) of Kāśyapa. Hear their names from me:

1. Āgrāyana	8. nayaṣṭ Lakṣaṇāḥ	15. śrutayao
2. Vṛṣagāṇi	9. Sālāhaleya	16. Bhauvanāyanaḥ
3. tṛṇesakir	10. Kairāñjāḥ	17. Devayātāḥ
4. Itikāyanaḥ	11. kanyakāś ca	22. Somayāgā
5. Udevrajā	12. Āśurīyanaḥ	23. tṛy adhaśchāyā
6. Mātharāś ca	13. tṛmandākinīyāṇ	bhayaṣṭ ca ye
7. tṛbhājāvi-	14. vaibhrgayāḥ	28. Kāśyanaḥ
7 So S; Ed., Sk sau-; P: saurandvidhi;	3 So S; M -lir; P: meṣaḥ kar-; Ed. meṣavir;	
P saurandhi.	with next, P: meṣakīṭikā-; Kṛṣ meṣa kīṭikā-	
8 So P; Ed. -saivaki; P: -sevikā ca; D: -saikub; R: rājasavakayāḥ; Sk sajasakavayāḥ;	Nos. 5-25 are missing in all the sources except M1, M2; for the restorations, cf. K. & L., etc.	
9 So Ed., P, Da; D: sānucciḥ; (Sk sānu-dhayaḥ).	5 M udagrajā.	
10 So Pa, D; P: D: kāpāti; Ed. kāpūta.	9 M sālāhaleyaḥ.	
11 So Ed., D; P: pingākṣi; P: lingsākṣi.	10 M kauṣṭhāḥ.	
12 P; D: āśaradvata iti; D: saradvantab.	10 So M1; M2 -vīgavāḥ.	
P: āśarata iti; Ed. āśaranta iti; S sarabhava it	15 So M1, and v.l. in M2; M2 śrutanaḥ.	
	16 P: M1 bhogayāṇaḥ; M2 bhautapāyanaḥ;	
	v.l. in M2, bhūraspā-	
	21 M -naḥ.	
1 So Ed., Kṛy, S; P: āgrā-; P: āgra-; M āśrīyana(r).	22 P: M gomayānā.	
2 Kṛy, S; Ed., P: viṣa-; M ṛṣigao; P: viṣa-gakā.	28 M kīṭyāyanaḥ.	

26. Śatruheya	40. tṛṇailameliṛ	52. vavasaṭas
27. Hṛdroṣa	41. Āśavāṭayanaḥ tathā	53. tathā caivodbalāyanaḥ
28. Gavyāyanaḥ	42. Kauṣṭhikāḥ	54. kāśyāyanaḥ caṭ
29. Cakraḍarhi	43. tṛavataḥ	55. Māricā
30. Mahācakri	44. Āgnisarmāyanaḥ ca ye	56. Ājīhāyana-
31. Dākṣapāyana eva ca	45. tṛṇesapāḥ	57. hāstikāḥ
32. tṛgoṣṭayano	46. Kaikaseyaḥ ca	58. Vaikarpeyāḥ
32. hy akirayo	47. tathā caiva Subabhravaḥ	59. Kāśyapāś ca
34. Hāstidāśas tathāiva ca	48. paulyao	60. tāsaiś
35. Vāṭsyapāṇir	49. jñānaratāś ca	61. Hāritāyanaḥ
37. Anyakṛtāḥ	50. tṛṇeyāḥ sarva eva tu	62. Mātanga-
38. Hāstāyanaḥ tathā	51. āyāmōdarā	63. Somabhuvaḥ ca
39. Dhūmrāyana		

These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Vatsāra,¹ and Kāśyapa, and Nidhrava

26 P: M: āśkrayanaḥ; M: āśkrayanaḥ.	47 From here to the end of the family there is little to correspond in K. & L., which presumably is defective, and the names here are accordingly numbered independently. As always, the Matsya names must be looked on with suspicion when not confirmed by the other lists. Subabhravāḥ, conj.; P: -yah; Ed. eucabhrayāḥ; S ācubhrayāḥ; D: vasaḥ babhrū; Da vasaḥ yadbhu; M tu babhravāḥ; Kṛy vasaḥ.
27 M: barhuyoga-; M: barhū yoga-	48 So Pa, D, S; Ed. yau-; M: pṛṇeyo; Kṛy, with next, paulyaḥ.
25 (? against the metre) M gadāyanaḥ.	49 So Ed., Pa, D; M: jñānaratāś; Kṛy nana rādhas.
29 P: Cf. K. & L.; Ed. bhavanandī; P: M, D: bhavanandī(r); Da bhavanandī; P: bhavanta-; Kṛy bhavana, divi-	50 So Pa (but -yāḥ); Ed. ajñāvas; S agnāvas; M agnā pṛṇeyo eva ca; D: agnāvah sarvaḥ; D: āpṛāvah sarvaḥ, Kṛy āpṛāva sarva.
30 So Ed.; P, M: -kr; M: -krir; Kṛy -maha, cakr-	51, 52 So Ed., M; P: āyāmo nāgāśrīr yāśas;
33 Ed., M: -pāyapa; S -pāyapa; M: -pāyana; P: -pāpā; Pa dākṣāyāṇa; Kṛy dākṣāyāṇa.	49 So Ed., Pa, D; M: jñānaratāś; Kṛy nana rādhas.
31 So Da; P: -yemo; P: kroṣṭeṇa; S: śreṭhe-yavī; Ed. grāṣṭeṇa; M: yodhāyanaḥ; Sk grāṣṭi-; R moṣṭi-	50 So Pa (but -yāḥ); Ed. ajñāvas; S agnāvas; M agnā pṛṇeyo eva ca; D: agnāvah sarvaḥ; D: āpṛāvah sarvaḥ, Kṛy āpṛāva sarva.
32 So Ed., S, Pa; P: hy akir: rāya; Kṛy hvakirapa; D kirib; M kīrtvayaḥ.	51, 52 So Ed., M; P: āyāmo nāgāśrīr yāśas;
34 So S; Ed., Pa -dā tu; P: haustadatu; M hāstidāśas; D hāstidat; Kṛy haustad.	49 So Ed., Pa, D; M: jñānaratāś; Kṛy nana rādhas.
35 Restored; Ed., Pa, M, Sk, R vāṭsyāyanaḥ; S vāṭśīlma; Kṛy tathā vāṭsyā; D vāṭsyāyanaḥ.	50 So Pa (but -yāḥ); Ed. ajñāvas; S agnāvas; M agnā pṛṇeyo eva ca; D: agnāvah sarvaḥ; D: āpṛāvah sarvaḥ, Kṛy āpṛāva sarva.
27 P: Cf. K. & L.; Ed., M nakṛajā; Pa lyankīrto; P: lyankīr; S lūkrvatas; Kṛy malya bālāya tida.	51, 52 So Ed., M; P: āyāmo nāgāśrīr yāśas;
36 Read -yenayaḥ? P: -yenunas; P: -yenitas; D: -yam; Kṛy hastalyāyana; Ed., M hy svālyāyanaḥ; S svālyāyanaḥ.	49 So Ed., Pa, D; M: jñānaratāś; Kṛy nana rādhas.
39 Restored; Ed. pṛṇayāḥ; Kṛy pṛṇayāḥ; M: P: pṛṇayāḥ; P: pṛṇayāḥ.	50 So Pa (but -yāḥ); Ed. ajñāvas; S agnāvas; M agnā pṛṇeyo eva ca; D: agnāvah sarvaḥ; D: āpṛāvah sarvaḥ, Kṛy āpṛāva sarva.
40 So Ed., Pa, R, Sk; M: -maulir; M: paula-maulir; Kṛy paumaili, P: D: paulalebub; Da paulalebub; P: adas a second -mei.	51, 52 So Ed., M; P: āyāmo nāgāśrīr yāśas;
41 So Ed., M; Pa -nir; Kṛy āśvī-; S āśvā-bāyanaḥ.	49 So Ed., Pa, D; M: jñānaratāś; Kṛy nana rādhas.
42 So Ed., R, Sk; D: Pa kauṣṭi-; Da kauṣṭi-; Kṛy kauṣṭi-; M: kauṣṭakāś ca; S kauṣṭikāś; P: omits nos. 42-51.	50 So Pa (but -yāḥ); Ed. ajñāvas; S agnāvas; M agnā pṛṇeyo eva ca; D: agnāvah sarvaḥ; D: āpṛāvah sarvaḥ, Kṛy āpṛāva sarva.
43 So Ed., Kṛy svāṭeṇa; P: svāpāśanaḥ; D svāpāḥ; M svāṭir.	51, 52 So Ed., M; P: āyāmo nāgāśrīr yāśas;
44 All, conj., Ed. -ns. Kṛy karmāyanaḥ only.	49 So Ed., Pa, D; M: jñānaratāś; Kṛy nana rādhas.
45 So Ed., M, Kṛy mūsaḥ; D: mūsaṇḍ; D: māuvāṇḍ; P: māumakāṇḍ; S māuvāṇḍ.	50 So Pa (but -yāḥ); Ed. ajñāvas; S agnāvas; M agnā pṛṇeyo eva ca; D: agnāvah sarvaḥ; D: āpṛāvah sarvaḥ, Kṛy āpṛāva sarva.
46 P: -vās. Ed. M kakarasapāḥ; Kṛy kakasāyanaḥ; S kauṣṭikāy.	51, 52 So Ed., M; P: āyāmo nāgāśrīr yāśas;

¹ So regularly (and outside) the Matsya sources (although S here has *avatsārah kalyapāś ca*).

of great austerity. These *ṛṣi* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The Rebhas¹ and Sāṃkhyamitras are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Vatsāra, and Kaśyapa, and Raibha² of great austerity. These *ṛṣi* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

Now I shall further tell those who are born in *doyāmuṣyāyana*-gotras:

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Ānaṣṭayo | 5. ʃaśruaṣṭ | 9. ʃaśmārikūḥ |
| 2. Bhāguraṣṭ | 6. rodabharāś ca | 10. ʃaśṭa- |
| 3. ʃānayo | 7. sairandhri | 11. Pingākṣiḥ |
| 4. ʃāṛjavanṇaṣṭ | 8. ʃropasavākūḥ | 12. ʃaśātambis tathaiva ca |

These one must know to be Vasiṣṭhas by day, and Kaśyapas by night.³ They are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Kaśyapa, and Vatsāra, and Vasiṣṭha of great austerity. These *ṛṣi* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. ʃaśampātīś ca | 8? kardamo | 15. Kulaḥ |
| 2. balīś cobhau | 9. Gardabhīmukhaḥ | 16. Vṛkakhapāś ca |
| 3. pippalā ʃaśṭ | 10. Hiranyabāhu- | 21. Suketāś ca |
| 4. Jalapṇharāḥ | 12. ʃaśairāśv | 22. tathottaraḥ |
| 5, 6. ʃaśujātāpūrah | 13. ubhau kaśyapa-ʃ | 18. Udameghas |
| 7. parvāś ca | 14. Gobhīlau | 19. Tṛpābindur |

1 Cf. K. & L.; Sānu-; Pa anu-; Pī anuṣṭhāyo; Ed. anuṣṭhāy; Mī anuṣṭhāyo; Mā anuṣṭhāyo; Kṛ anuṣṭhāy

2 Cf. K. & L.; M nīkurayab; P, Dā, S bhīkurayab; Dī bhīkūṣṭ; Ed. bhīkurayab;

3 So Ed., P, D; S tāta; M snāta.

4 So Ed., P; Pā rā-; S pāṛ-; M -vartapīḥ; Dī -balī; Da -batm; Kṛ -vahnaya.

5 So Ed.; Dī, Pī sairīḥ; Pā sairīḥ; Da sairīḥ; M śaśī; S saupatī.

6 So Ed.; Pī rodavāś ca; Pā rovaśāś ca; M rodavāś caiva; S rodavāś ca; D aude-

vāḥ.

7 So M; Mā raupa-; S rodhaśvākūḥ; Ed. rōpavātakūḥ; P rōpavātakūḥ; Da supavāt-

akūḥ; Dī supavātakūḥ; Kṛ aśvau.

8 So Ed., P; Pā; Dā sāmānīk; Pā sāmānīk-; Kṛ sāmānīk; S sāmānīk; M yāmūḥ.

9 So Ed., S, Dā; Dī sādyaḥ; Pā sādā; M kādru; Pī sādā; Kṛ sādā- (joined with next).

10 Pī piyāḡpiyā.

11 So Ed., Mā; Mī -via; Pā tyātātib; Pī styātātib; Da khajātātib; sautaṭā itī; Dī styātātib; sautaṭā itī; Kṛ sātātib.

12 So Ed., Mā; Mī -via; Pā tyātātib; Pī styātātib; Da khajātātib; sautaṭā itī; Dī styātātib; sautaṭā itī; Kṛ sātātib.

13 So Ed., Mā; Mī -via; Pā tyātātib; Pī styātātib; Da khajātātib; sautaṭā itī; Dī styātātib; sautaṭā itī; Kṛ sātātib.

14 So Ed., Mā; Mī -via; Pā tyātātib; Pī styātātib; Da khajātātib; sautaṭā itī; Dī styātātib; sautaṭā itī; Kṛ sātātib.

15 So Ed., Mā; Mī -via; Pā tyātātib; Pī styātātib; Da khajātātib; sautaṭā itī; Dī styātātib; sautaṭā itī; Kṛ sātātib.

16 So Ed., Mā; Mī -via; Pā tyātātib; Pī styātātib; Da khajātātib; sautaṭā itī; Dī styātātib; sautaṭā itī; Kṛ sātātib.

17 So Ed., Mā; Mī -via; Pā tyātātib; Pī styātātib; Da khajātātib; sautaṭā itī; Dī styātātib; sautaṭā itī; Kṛ sātātib.

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|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 21. ʃmahakairalayāś ca ye | 27. Saudānava | 29. ʃtauvriva |
| 25. Śāṇḍila | 17. Devajātayāḥ | ʃṛṇayo parikīrtitāḥ |
| 26. Vaidānava- | 28. Paippalāś | |

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Āsita, and Devala, and Kaśyapa of great austerity. These *ṛṣi* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The whole entire world was the offspring of the pre-eminent *ṛṣi* Kaśyapa by the daughters of Dakṣa, O lion among men. What further shall I now tell you, O king?

Puruṣottama comments:

The various gaṇas of the Kaśyapas have no intermarriage, because of sameness of gotra. This results from the fact that the name Kaśyapa occurs, either actually or implicitly, in all the pravaras, and from the fact that of three *ṛṣi* two coincide. Since the Lauṅaksis belong to two gotras, they have no intermarriage with either the Kaśyapas or the Vasiṣṭhas.

Baudhāyana gives four alternative pravaras for the Śāṇḍilas, viz. 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsara, Śāṇḍila', 'K. Ā. Daivala', 'K. Ā. Āsita', and 'Śāṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala'. Āpastamba gives two alternatives, 'Daivala, Āsita', and 'Kaśyapa, Daivala, Āsita'. Now, in these six pravaras, five *ṛṣi*-names in all appear. Therefore (one might think), the Śāṇḍilas should have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara 'K. Ā. Śāṇḍila, Daivala, Āsita', in accordance with the scriptural precepts, 'He chooses hymn-composers, according to his family (*yatharṣi*)', and 'He chooses as many as are hymn-composers'. Also, Kaṭyāyana says: 'He recites the *arṣeṣas* of the sacrificer, three, from the remote end hitherwards; or else as many as are hymn-composers.' Nevertheless, a five-*ṛṣi* pravara is given here by none of the Sūtra-authors. Therefore the alternatives are to be considered as applying to separate families who are united only in their name of Śāṇḍila. For if these were only the one family, the five-*ṛṣi* pravara would be proper.

21 So Ed., Pā; Dī -ko-; Da -kau-; S mahāḥ koranayā; M mahāntāḥ kevalāś ca ye.

25 So P; M, Kṛ -lyo.

26 So Ed., P; M dānavāś caiva; Kṛ vaidānava.

27 Ed. so-; Pā tyau-; Pī saurānava; Kṛ saudānava samahākāra lala; M has only the particles, tathā vai (admittedly the reading in the text offends against the caesura).

28 So Ed., P; M dānavāś caiva; Kṛ vaidānava.

29 So Ed.; Pī tovaripa; Pā tovaripa; Kṛ tovaripa; M sapravāḥ. For ṛṇayo parikīrtitāḥ (M, Pā) which is in any case dubious, Ed., Pī have ṛṇi vā parikīrtitāḥ.

¹ Restored; Ed., P nīkurayāś; read nīkurayāś. M omits this family.

² Restored; Ed., P nīkurayāś; read nīkurayāś.

³ *ditā a vasiṣṭhi tyā ete naktam jñānā ca kaśyapāḥ*, in spite of noting the reading *ditā vasiṣṭhi* in a footnote, Mā follows Mī in the absurd reading *ditā a vasiṣṭhi tyā ete bhaktiā*, etc.

CHAPTER VII THE VASIṢṬHAS

A. Baudhāyana

We shall explain the one-*ṛṣi* 'Vasiṣṭha':

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Vaitakir | 10. Vāṭṭayā | 17. Saumanasāyana |
| 2. Vāṭṭakir | 10a. [gṛāni] | 18. Ālambhāyana |
| 3. Sākhā | 10b. nayāpā | 19. Laumhāyana |
| 4. Cauriśravasa | 11. Jāvalāyana | 20. Svastā |
| 5. Jāvalāyana | 12. Auḍulomih | 21. Kāṣṭhā |
| 6. Kapiṣṭhā | 13. Kaubhojib | 22. Pārnakāvanās |
| 7. Śaucivṛkṣa | 14. Kaulāyana | 23. Caudakāvanās |
| 8. Vyāghrapādo | 15. Sundaraharib | 24. Pārpavalko |
| 9. Vāhyakāyana | 16. Kāpthevidhīb | 25. Devanā |

1 ? So M, T, Bu, S; cf. K. & L., vaigala?; Be, U vaitakir; Ed., P vaitakir; D vaitakir; R, Sk (and G?) vaitakiravaya(h).
2 So M, T, Caland, cf. gāṇa gahādi; Bu vāṭṭakir; Be, U vāṭṭakir; P vāṭṭakir; Pa vāṭṭakir; Ed. vāṭṭakir; S vāṭṭakir; D vāṭṭakir; D1 harukib; G, R rakayab; Sk kara-kavayab.

3 So Be, U, P, R, D; D1 stavakāb; Ed. stavāb; Sk sākhalā; cf. perhaps K. & L. no. 5, stavāyana.

4 Sk -āl.
5 So S, Sk, D; R -ṣṭulāb; Ed. vapiśvan; D; -ṣṭulāb; Pa kapiśvan; P1, B kapiṣṭhāb; cf. the other lists.

7 D sau-; Ed., P, R, Sk sau-.
8 So Ed., D, R, Sk; Pa -pādi; P1 vyab grasado; B vyāghrapādāyo; Caland emends to vāyāghrapādāyo (for which also cf. Mān. and Wb.) but this is not really necessary; cf. Vyāghrapad-Vasiṣṭha, the *ṛṣi* of RV 9. 97, 16-18.

9 Cf. gāṇa tihādi; manuscripts indiscriminately va-, bā-, S bhākhāyana; D1 kāmāyāyana.
10 So B, D; D1 vāṭṭakir; S nāṭṭakir; instead of this A gives nos. 10a and 10b, the first of which is clearly a dittography of no. 9, while the second is a variant of no. 10 itself.

10a So Ed., R, Sk, D; P1 -ner; Pa gīpaner.
10b So Ed., D; P1, R nayāyā; P1 napādi; Sk nayāyā; D1 nayāyā; for these, Be, U have supavānā aupavānā, which are certainly surprising here; cf. K. & L., etc.
11 B jātakarā.

12 So D1, Caland, who compares the Schol. to Vart. 8, Pāp. 4. 1. 85; G, T, Bu -mah; M auḍulomih; S autululomih; Pa auḍumi; Ed.

audhrome; P1 audhromi; D2 auda-; R audhrovah; Sk audhnamayab.
13 So B, Pa, D, R, Sk; P1 kṣau-; Ed. ko-.

14 Ed. ko-; S pau-.
15 So Be, U, Caland, but very dubious, possibly we should read two names, sūda haritāb, as does R (the other lists have a Harita); Ed., P1 sundaharib; Pa, D1 sudahar-; Sk suvāhar-; D2 sapdahar-; S munda-; R muda-.

16 So corrected by Caland (and cf. Pān 4. 1. 81), Ed., R, P, Be, U kāndevrddh, S, D kāndariddh, M, G, T kāndeviddh, Sk kāndariddhadvayab.

17 Conj., cf. the other lists; G, Caland saupavānā-; T saudhāyana-; S sūdhāyana-; Pa, D1 saupavānā-; D2 saupavānāmah. Id. P2 sopavavāyā; Sk saupavānā-; R sojavānā-; Be, U upavānā-.

18 Sk klāb-; S jā-.

19 So emended by Caland, cf. gāṇa kūtādi and the other lists; Be, U, Ed., P, S lomāyā, R, Sk lomāyāyāb; D1 lomāyāyāb; D2 lomāyāyāb; B lomāyāyāb (strictly, however, the termination -āyānā should become -āyānāb in the plural, cf. Pāp. 4. 1. 98; 5. 3. 123; 2. 4. 62).

20 D1 svayāb.
21 ? A kārṣṭhāb; D1 kārṣṭhāb; D2 kārṣṭhāb. M kārṣṭhāvasthāb; G pārnakāyāb; D1 kārṣṭhāb; Sk kārṣṭhāb; B kārṣṭhāb; S kārṣṭhāb; 22 Be, U, P1 pārnā-; Sk pārnā-.

23 So B; S yola-; A omits.
24 So A (D; Be, U pā-); M, G, Bu pārnā-; T pārnāyāb; D1 pārnāyāb.

25 So S, A (except Be, U devanā-); Bu devanā-; M, G, T dāivā; R has here devanā, and before no. 22, devanā.

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| 26. Gauravāyā | 29. Āvikṣṭayo | 32. Saptavallā |
| 27. Śrīvāṣṭhāyana | 30. 'āvayājāyā | 33. Vasiṣṭhā iti |
| 28. Vāhakathaya | 31. Pūtimājāb | |

These are Vasiṣṭhas. They have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vasiṣṭha', etc.

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|---------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Kuṇḍinā | 8. (A)śmarathā | 15. Hiranyākṣayāpāb |
| 2. Lohāyana | 9. Bāhaya | 16. Paippalādāyo |
| 3. Guggulir | 10. ṭkruṇkolyāb | 17. bhāṭkṣir |
| 4. Aupavasthā | 11. Śāṅgālināb | 18. Mādhyapādināb |
| 5. Vāikarāyā | 12. Kāpatayāb | 19. Śāntib |
| 6. ṭāvikhā | 13. Pāṭhikā | 20. ṭaupakṣir iti |
| 7. Badaro | 14. Navagrāmā | |

These are Kuṇḍinas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vasiṣṭha, Maitravaruna, Kaundinya', etc.

26 So A, M, G kodivā; T kodivāb, Bu kṣivāb; S konivā.

27 So B; Caland's comparison of Kāty. (W) is very dubious, since there the name occurs among the Parāśaras; it is, however, noteworthy that in that place Baudh. alone diverges widely from the other accounts; Be, U āvavāyāyana, Ed., P1 (-ā) vāivāyā; Pa, R, Sk, D vāivāyāb.

28 So A; S vāṭṭakir; G vāṭṭakir; M, T, Bu omitt.

29 So M, G, T, D; Bu adhi-; S ākṣipāyo; A āvikṣṭayo.

30 ? So Caland; Be, U āvayājāyāb; M, G, T āvayājāyāb; Bu āvayājāyāb; S vāṣṭayāyo; Ed., P1 vāṣṭayājāyāb; Pa vāṣṭayājāyāb; R, Sk vāṣṭayājāyāb; D āvayājāyāb.

31 R haritāyāb.

32 So M, G, T; Ed., P1, D1 -vett; Pa saptave only; D2 sṛvayāb; R saptavāb; Sk samavayāb; Bu -vajāb.

1 Sk kuṇḍināb.

2 Sk (and G?) lohāyānāb.

3 So Ed., D1, T, R, Sk, Be, U plural, D2 guggulib, S guggulib, Bu luh, G -lā; P1 -gūlā, Pa jagulā.

4 Conj., cf. the other lists, Ed., P2, D1 āvathā, P1 āvathā, M, G āvavasthā, T āvavasthā, Be, U -vathā, R āvathā (not āvathā-; S āvavasthā; Caland, āvavasthā (after Mān.), which, however, has āvavasthā).

5 So Ed., R, Be, U, S; Pa ve-; P1 -aya; D1 -mā-; cf. Schol. to Pān. 4. 1. 124; if I understand Caland's note aright, the B-group of manu-

scripts read in this place: M, G, Bu bhindava(h); T hraddhābhindava.

6 So (or with -khā) Be, U, P; Ed. āvayā; S āvayā; M, G, T āvayā; Bu bilvā; D1 undub; R āvayāyāb (cf. no. 4).

7 So B, S, Ed.; P1 lade; Pa vāro; Be, U days; D1 āciravāb.

8 So Be, U; Ed., D1 -thyāb; Pa -tho; P1, B -tha-.

9 Indiscriminately bā-, vā-, Be, U bāhayaab.

10 So Ed., Pa, Sk (and p); P1 kaukrokyā; R kaukrokyāb; P2 kaukrokyāb; M, G kaukrokyāb; T kaukrokyāb; Bu kaukrokyāb; Be, U kaukrokyāb.

11 So B; D1 śāṅgālināb; Be, U śāṅgālināb; P1, Ed. śāṅgālināb; Pa śāṅgālināb; R, Sk śāṅgālināb.

12 M, A (but P, Sk with -ṭh-); G, T kār-
patayāb; Bu kār-
patayāb.

13 So Be, U, G, cf. gāṇa hōdā; Pa, R, Sk pēṭha-; P1, D pēṭha-; M pāṭhaya; T pāṭhaya; Bu pāṭhaya.

14 M, G, T -grāmā; R -trāmā.

15 So A (but except Ed. hiranyākṣayāb); S, T -ākṣā; Bu ākṣā; M, G -ākṣā.

17 So B; S bhāṭkṣir; cf. perhaps K. & L., etc., ākṣayāb; Be, U, P1 bhāṭkṣir; Ed. bhāṭkṣir; Pa bhāṭkṣir; D, R and Sk seem to add another name—D1 saugib ākṣitāb; D2 āṣṭhāb ākṣitāb; R saugayokṣitā, Sk saugayokṣitā.

18 M, G, T -nib; Be, U, P -na.

19 P sṛā-; D (after no. 20) svātib.

20 So Be, U, D1; P1 sōpakir; D2 sūpa only; Pa sōmakir; R sōmakir; Sk sōmakir; M, G, T, Caland saupatithir; B saupatithir; S saubadānā.

1. Upamanyava
2. Aupagava
3. Māṇḍalekhayaḥ
4. Kāpiñjalā
5. Jāḷagutā
6. Tapolokā
7. Traivaraḥ caiva
8. Pārṇāgarh
9. Surakṣarāḥ
10. Śailālaya
11. Mahākarmāyama
12. Bālāśikhā
13. Aūdghāmānaya
14. Bāḷagārbhā
15. Bhāgyavittāyanaḥ

16. Kuṇḍodarāyana
17. Lākṣmaṇayaḥ
18. Ṭikvīdhaya
19. Vārīkṣavakya
20. Āṇḍkṣarābhā
21. Ālamāyānāḥ
22. Kapikēśa iti

These are Upamanyus. They have a three-*rsi* pravara, 'Vasiṣṭha, Aindrapramada, Ābharadvasavya'.¹

Parāśarāḥ

1. Kāṇḍūśayā
2. vājayo
3. vājantayo
4. Vaimatāyanaḥ

5. Gopālir eṣāṃ pañcama
ete Kṛṣṇāḥ Parāśarāḥ

M omits the Upamanyus.

- 2 Sk, R, G aśudāyāḥ.
- 3 Ed., P māṇḍ-; Pa -leśayāḥ; T -rekhayāḥ; Bu -nekhyāḥ.
- 4 Cf. gaga *śuddhi*; Be, U, Ed., Pa kṛp-.
- 5 So A (except D jāḷagutāḥ, Pī gata only, R gata only—haplography with preceding); S jāḷagava; G -graha; T grāhā; Bu jāḷāḥ.
- 6 So Be, U, R, Sk, Da, Pa; Ed., Pī, Dī, Fī jayo-; G jalakā; T talahakā; Bu ghrasphāḥ; Ed., S havo lokā.
- 8 So Caland, cf. the other lists; T parā-; Bu pāhyā-; G paragāni; Be, U yastagrayāḥ, Ed., Pa pāstāgiri; Pī śāstāgiriḥ; Sk parograyāḥ; R paryāgrāyāḥ; Dī pāstāgiriḥ; Dā pāstāgiriḥ; S -ā cithāḥ vahyāngārā.
- 9 So B, S svarā-; Be, U, P, R sārā-; Sk sārā-; Dī sārāḥ sārāḥ; Dā sārāḥ sārāḥ.
- 10 So Bu, cf. the other lists; S śailāhalino; G, T jāḷā-; Be, U, R, Pa maḥā-; Pī molā-; Ed. molāyo; Sk saulā-; Dī lahaviḥ; Dā kīṣāṇhāḥ.
- 11 R, Sk -karyā-.
- 12 be- and -v- indiscriminately; S dābhā.
- 13 So T, cf. gaga *śuddhi* and the other lists; Ed., Pa sūdā-; G, Bu, S, Da sūdā- (sūdā-); Sk aūdghāmānāyāḥ; Dī aūdghāyānāḥ; Pī aūdghāmānāyāḥ; R aumhāyāḥ; after this, R repeats nos. 3-6, ending (cf. no. 7) with tṛaḍghāmānāḥ.
- 14 So B; A val-, bal- (Pa cal-).
- 15 So S, Dī, R, Sk, cf. the other lists; Dā bhāgyavittāyanaḥ; Ed., P bhāgyurittāyanaḥ; G, T bhāgyurittāyanaḥ; Be, U bhāgyurittāyanaḥ; Caland bhāgyurittāyanaḥ; the other lists without question support the reading in the text, but the preponderant authority here for bhāgyur- is surprising, and we may suspect a telescoping of two names, bhāgyurāna and bhāgyurittāyana (the former also

- occurring in the other lists); after no. 17 S has vitthāyanaḥ.
- 16 Be, U kuṇḍino-; Pā kuṇḍinodadāyanaḥ, Pī kudorāva, Dā kuṇḍovanāḥ.
- 17 Cf. gaga *śuddhi*.
- 18 So P, Dī, Da kāḍdhāḥ, Ed. kāvādhāḥ S kāśāvaya, Be, U kacādhāva, G kācāntava, T kācārudho, R kācāntakavāḥ, Sk vākhāve, R vākhāve.
- 19 So G, T vākā-, Bu vākāḥ cakrāvaḥ, S vārīkṣavakāvaḥ, Be, U, Ed. vārīkṣavāḥ, Pī vāḥmānāyanaḥ, Pā vārīkṣavāḥ, Dā vākāḥ, Dā vākāḥ.
- 20 Coni., Be, U, Caland āṇḍkṣarābhāḥ, G āṇḍkṣarābhāḥ; T āṇḍkṣarābhāḥ, R āṇḍkṣarābhāḥ, S āṇḍkṣarābhāḥ; Pā āṇḍkṣarābhāḥ; Pī āṇḍkṣarābhāḥ.
- 21 Cf. the other lists; Dā ālamāyāḥ; Dī ālamāyāḥ; R, Pa, Be, U ālamāyāḥ; Ed. ālamāyāḥ; S āramāyāḥ; Caland ālamāyāḥ; G āramāyāḥ; T āramāyāḥ; Bu āramāyāḥ.
- 22 T kapi-.

- 1 So G, R; Be, U (not Pn) kaṇḍu-; M kadvaṇḍu-; T kadvaṇḍu-; Bu kaṇḍavapāyāyāḥ; P kadu-; Pa kuhu-; Ed kuhuḥmāva; Sk kāṇḍu-; Dī kāṇḍu-; Dā kandrūḥ.
- 2 So A (except R gajayo-); there is an error in the readings of Caland's notes here, and the readings for this name have been omitted.

- 3 vājyo; D vājho.
- 3 So B, S vājyo, Be, U, Ed., Pā, R, Sk vājmantavo, Pī vājantavo D vājantāḥ.
- 4 So Ed., Pī, cf. vana arihāḍāḥ B -nir, G vaimatāyānir; S naimatāyānir; Pā vaivāyāḥ; R matāyānāḥ only; Sk, Dī bhaimā-; Dā bhaimatāyānāḥ.
- 5 So B; A govā- (except Ed., grāvāvir; Dā govāvir); S gopāyānir.

6. Prārohayo
7. Vaikūlayaḥ
8. Plākṣayaḥ
9. Kaumudādayaḥ
10. Hāryāvīr eṣāṃ pañcama
ete Gaurāḥ Parāśarāḥ
11. Khalyāyanayo
12. ṭgopayaḥ
13. kālīkayaḥ
14. śyātayātayaḥ
15. vārupīr eṣāṃ pañcama
ete (A)ruṇāḥ Parāśarāḥ
16. bhālūkyā
17. Bādāri caiva
18. ṭkāvāyana

19. kaukūśālayaḥ
20. ksauratir eṣāṃ pañcama
ete Nīlāḥ Parāśarāḥ
21. Kṛṣṇājinaḥ
22. ṭkapiśukhāḥ
23. śyāmāyanayaḥ
24. śvetyāpūyāḥ
25. Paukaraśādir eṣāṃ pañcama
ete Śvetāḥ Parāśarāḥ
26. ṭvāśyāyanayo
27. Vārṇeyaḥ
28. Śyāmeyaḥ
29. ṭalaunihāḥ saha
30. caulīr eṣāṃ pañcama
ete Śyāmāḥ Parāśarāḥ

- 6 So B, Dī; R, Sk prāge-; Dā pārohu; Be, U, P parohayo; Ed. parokarāḥ.
- 7 So R, Sk, Pa, Dī; Pī -yob; Be, U -yāḥ; Ed. vāksarāyāḥ; B vāksarāyāḥ; Dā vāksāḥ.
- 8 So Pa, D, R, B; Pī -yāḥ; Be, U, Sk plakṣayaḥ, Ed. khādayaḥ.
- 9 So B, P, Be, U kaumudā-, Pī kaumudāvo, Sk kaukūśādayaḥ, R kaujādayaḥ, Dā kaumudāḥ; Dā kaumudāḥ, Ed. pramudāttavo.
- 10 So P, Dī, R, Sk; Be, U -ci-; B -dī-; Dā kī-; Pa hāyāḥ; Ed. haryāva.
- 11 So M, G, T, D; Bu kālyānayaḥ; Be, U kalyā-; Pī, R kalyā-; Sk kālyāḥ paṇayo; Pā kālyāḥ paṇayo; Ed. tulayanayo.
- 12 So T, R, D, Ed., Sk gopayaḥ; Pa, Be, U gopāyāḥ; Pī gopīyāḥ; S gopāyanayaḥ; M, G, Bu gopāyāḥ.
- 13 All of A omit; Bu kālīkayaḥ; M kālīkapaḥ; G kālīkadhāḥ; T kālīkayaḥ; S omits; Dī kālīḥ; Dā vāhli. It is probable that this and the following name are misplaced here, cf. the other lists among the group beginning with Kṛṣṇājinaḥ (nos. 23, 24).
- 14 So M, Bu, G, S śyāmāyā-; T śyātāyā-; Be, U śyātāyā; Ed., P, R śyātāyāḥ; Sk śhāyāyāḥ; S śyātāyā; Dā; Dī śyātīḥ; Dā śāntāḥ.
- 15 So all (except R -vayo, D -vāḥ); but cf. the other lists.
- 16 So all (except Sk bhālūkyāḥ).
- 17 So B, D; A vājāri caiva (Pa vājāli).
- 18 So M, G, S, Be, U, Dī; Ed. krāvāva; Pā krāvā-; R krāvā-; Pī kahnā-; T kīṭyā-; Bu kāryāyāḥ; Dā kāryāḥ.
- 19 So G; Bu -ā-; T kakuśukā-; M kakuśukā-; Be, U kraukūśāyāḥ; Dī kraukūśāḥ; Dā kraukūśāḥ; Ed., R kraukūśāyāḥ; Pī kaukūśāyāḥ; Pa kraukūśāyāḥ; S kāmudāvaḥ.

- 20 So S; Bu -mit; M, G kṣamitir; Ed., R krau-; P kau-; Dī, Sk krai-; Pī kramitāḥ; Dā krayauḥ; T samiti; R, U kramitī.
- 21 Dī -janāḥ.
- 22 So R -k kā-, Ed., Pī, D -mukhāḥ; Be, U papimukhāḥ; Pa -surapāḥ; M, G kapiśukhāḥ, T kapiśarūḥ; Bu karpāḥ śubhāḥ.
- 23 So Bu, S, D; Be, U, Ed., Pī svāśyāpāyāḥ; R, Pa svāśyāyāḥ; Sk svāśyāpāyāḥ; M śyāmānāyāḥ; T śmātāyāḥ; G śyāmāḥ only; nos. 23 and 24 should be interchanged with nos. 13 and 14, cf. the other lists.
- 24 Although all the sources here have śveta-, comparison with the other lists suggests we should read beiva-; Ed., R, Sk, Dī, B -yūpāyāḥ; Be, U -pūyāḥ; Pī -mūpāyāḥ; Pa -dārayāḥ; Dā śvetaṃyāpūḥ; S -rūpāyāḥ.
- 25 M, T pauskala-.
- 26 So Caland; but probably we should read śvetyāyana, with the other lists, although none of the sources here give much indication of such a reading; M, G vāśyānayo; T plāśyānayo; S vāśyānayo; Be, U mālor bhāḷāyānayo; Ed., D gūryāyānayo; Pī gūryāyānayo; Sk gūryāyāyāḥ; R gūryāyānaya; Pa gūryāyānayo (all these with dental -n-).
- 27 So B, S, Dī; Ed. vārṇayaḥ; Be, U, P vārṇayāḥ; Sk nārṇayaḥ; R tarṇayaḥ; Dā dhonṇayaḥ.
- 28 So S, M, G śyātāmeyaḥ; T śātāmeyaḥ; cf. gaga *śuddhi*; Pī omits from this name to the word vāśyāyāḥ.
- 29 So Pa; Ed. ślo-; Dā srotuhāḥ saha; Dī śrāutuhāḥ saha-; S śāugīsa saha; Be, U śāutuhāḥ; M śāubihāḥ; G śāubihāḥ; T pau-; Dā śāubihāḥ; R śrāutuhāḥ saha; Sk śārauhāḥ; Caland śrāutuhāḥ saha.
- 30 So B, Pā, R, D; Ed. vauir; S coli.

¹ Bu, Caland, *ābharadvasavati*.

The Kṛṣṇa, Gaura, Aruṇa, Nīla, Śveta, and Śyāma Parāśaras have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Vasiṣṭha, Śāktya, Parāśarya', etc.

There is no intermarriage among any of the Vasiṣṭhas.¹

B. Āpastamba

Except for the Parāśaras,² the Vasiṣṭhas have a one-ṛṣi pravara, 'Vasiṣṭha', etc. But some give 'Vasiṣṭha, Aindrapramada, Ābharadvasavya',³ etc.

The Parāśaras have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Vasiṣṭha, Śāktya, Parāśarya', etc. The Kuṇḍinas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Vasiṣṭha, Matrāvaruṇa, Kaundinya', etc.

The Sāmṣṛti-Pūtimāṣas⁴ have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Śāktya, Sāmṣṛtya, Gaurivita', etc.

C. Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi

We shall explain the Vasiṣṭhas.

The Vasiṣṭhas have a one-ṛṣi pravara, except for the Upamanyus, Parāśaras, Kuṇḍinas, and Jātukarṇyas.

W and Mān.

vasiṣṭhān vyākhyāśāmo:
vasiṣṭhānām ekārṇeyāḥ pravaro bhavati ye 'nya upa-
manyu-parāśarebhyḥ kuṇḍinebhyś ca.

1. Vyāghrapadā
2. Aupavanā

1. Vaiyāghrapadā
2. ...

W

3. Aupagavā
4. Vaigalāḥ
5. Sātvālyānāḥ
6. Kapiṣṭhālā
7. Audulomā

3. Aupagavāḥ
4. ...
5. kulīyānāḥ
6. Kapiṣṭhālā
7. Audulomā

Mān.

3. Aupagavā
4. vaigrayāḥ
5. śāśmalāyānāḥ (h)
6. Kapiṣṭhālā
7. Audulomā

Dā, in addition to the Pravara-darpaṇa text, gives a literal account of the Sūtra-text; the readings in the latter are referred to as Dā.

- 1 Pī vyāpra-; Pā -padā.
- 2 R auparāt; Dī vataḥ.
- 4 So Pā; Ed. veg-; Pī, D, S naig-; Dāś kaimdhaigalā.
- 5 So Ed., Dī, R, Dā; P satva-; Dā svatva-; Sk satva-.
- 6 Dā, Pā -ṣṭhālā.
- 7 So Dī, R, cf. Baudh. no. 12; Dā, Sk auda-; Ed., Dā auda-; Pā anu-; S audulomā; Pī yadulomā.

W

- 6 kapiṣṭhālā.
- 7 udalomā.

Mān.

- 1 vaighāghrapadā.
- 3 opa-
- 6 kapiṣṭhālā.
- 7 opa talomā.

W

8. Āśvalāyana
9. Vāṭikarā
10. Gopāyana
11. Baudhayaś ca
12. vākavyā
13. aṣṭa Vāhyakṛt
14. Kūlīvyayāḥ
15. Palāḍayo
16. Haritayo
17. Vākuraś ca ye
18. Āyasthūpāḥ
19. Śucivṛkṣā
20. Laumāyanyā
21. Brahmapureyāḥ
22. Svastikarāḥ
23. Kāṇṭheviddhi-
24. māṇḍulī-
25. grudhili-
26. vauvili-
27. mālohadi-

8. Āśvalāyana
9. Vāṭikarā
10. gopāyā
11. bodhākāś
12. cāḍakavitha-
13. bākya-
14. Jātukarṇyā
16. Haritayo
17. 'thāyāgapayaś ca
18. Āyasthūpāḥ
19. Śucivṛkṣā
20. Laumāyanyā
21. brahma-
22. Svastikara-
23. Kāṇṭheviddhi-
24. māṇḍi
25. vauli
26. mauli
27. kālōhati-

Mān.

8. Āśvalāyana-
9. vaiṭikarā
10. gogeyanā
11. Baudhāyanaś
12. cāḍakavyāyānā
13. aṣṭa vāhyakī
14. Jātukarṇyā
16. Haritayo
17. 'tho yāṇkarayāḥ śvaye
18. Āyasthūpāḥ [sic]
19. Śucivṛkṣā
20. Laumāyanya-
21. brahmavādi-
22. brahmakṛdeya-
23. brahmavideya-
24. brahmavileyaḥ
25. Svastikarāḥ
26. Kāṇṭheviddhi
27. māṇḍi-
28. mandī-
29. cauli-
30. caulikā

- 8 Pī singular
- 9 So Ed., Pī, D, S; Pā vāṭi-; Dā -kārā.
- 10 Dā -nib; S maupe-; Pā gopāyāyānā.
- 11 So S; Dā boudhayib; Dī dhauvib; Ed., Pī vauvayā; Pā vauvayā; Dā vauvayāśvā;
- 12 So Ed., Pā, D; Dā, Pī nākyava; S śakātyāyava.
- 13 ? Cf. Baudh. no. 9; Ed. aṣṭa satvābāhyakṛt; Pī satvābāhyakṛt; Pā satvābāhyakṛt; Dā aṣṭa aṣṭa satvābāhyakṛt; S aṣṭavāhyakṛt; D satvābāhyakṛt (Dā bāhya-); R vāhyakṛtāḥ.
- 14 So Ed., Pā; Dā kūlīharib; Dī kālōhavib; Dā kālōtharav; Pī kīlīvama; S kīlīvavava
- 15 So Ed., Pī, D, Pā pālā-. Dā pālīvabso, S pālāvo, R, Sk pālīvā
- 16 So Ed., P., Dā hā-. S haritakavo
- 17 So Ed., Pī, S vāmkuravā ca ye, Dā vākuraś ca ye; Pā kuravāś ca ye; Dī kākūrib; Dā bahūrib; R, Sk vāgrūthayā.
- 18 Restored, cf. gaṇas śroṣṭi, yaukṣā; R, Sk, D āpā-; Ed., P. āyasthūpāḥ; Dā āyasthūpāḥ; S jāyamaḥ.
- 19 Restored, cf. Mān., W, and Baudh. no. 7; Ed., P., Dī āṇi-; S āṇi-; Dā āṇivākyayā; Dā āṇi-.
- 20 Cf. Baudh. no. 19; Ed., Pā, loma-; Pī lomāyanyā; Dā lomāyā āḥ; S tāmāyanyāḥ.
- 22 R, Sk svastikāḥ.

- 23 Cf. Baudh. no. 16; Dā kṛte-; Ed. kṛde-; S kṛde-; Pī kṛṇḍividhi; Pā kṛṇḍividhi.
- 24 ? So Ed., Pī, Dī, S; Dā, Dā māṇḍalī;
- 25 ? So Ed., P., R, S; Dā go-; Dī gaudhārib; Dā gaudhārib; Sk gaṇīlaya; before this name, S adds vediti
- 26 ? So Pī, R, Pā vauvili, Ed. vauviri; Dī kaudhrib; Dā bauli; Dā vaudhrib; S gavili.
- 27 So Ed., R; Pī maudhi; Pā golohadi; Dā mālohavib; Dā galohadi; Dī mālohadi; S galohadi.

W

- 15 haritayo.
- 18 pyāyasthūpāḥ.
- 20 lomāyanyā.
- 23 kṛṇḍividhi.

Mān

- 8 āśvāyana.
- 11 vau-
- 15 haritayo.
- 18 āyasthūpāḥ.
- 19 śucivṛkṣo.
- 20 lo-
- 22 svastīkaraḥ.
- 23 kṛṇḍividhi.

¹ This last sentence appears in Ed. and Pī only.

² Rn (Satyāśāḍha), 'Except for the Upamanyus, Parāśaras and Kuṇḍinas'.

³ Garbe, *Ābharadvaso iti*; so also Satyāśāḍha.

⁴ Cf. the other lists among the Kevala Angirases. Satyāśāḍha gives *sāmṣṛti-pūtimāṣa-tandinam*

	W	Mān.
28. Saumanasāyana-	28. Saumanasāyana-	28. Saumanasāyana-
29. Brahmani-		30. cauli
30. cauli		31. Gaurisravasa-
31. Gaurisravasa-	31. Gaurisravasa-	31. Gaurisravasa-
32. Yājñavalkya-	Arjunākṣi-iti	Arjunākṣi-iti
33. Pārṇavalkya-iti		

These have no intermarriage. They have a one-ṛi prvara, 'Vasiṣṭha', etc.

1. Śailālaya	1. Śailālaya	1. Śailālaya
2. Mahākarpī-	2. Mahākarpā(h)	2. Mahākarpā h
3. Kauravyāḥ	3. Kauravyāyāṇā	3. Kauravā
4. Traivarnāḥ		4. athātraiparnā h
5. Kapinjalā		5. Kapinjalā
6. tadvālasavī		6. dvā alāṣikhi
7. Bhāgavittāyāṇā ca ye		7. Bhāgavittāyāṇā ca ye
8. Kaumārāyāṇā	(lacuna)	
9. Bhāgahayo		
10. Kaurakṣd		
11. Bhāgurāyāṇā		
12. Śārkaryāḥ		
13. tśākāyē		
14. atho Aulapayāḥ ca ye		14. atho lavayāḥ ca ye
15. Śāmkhyāyāṇā		tyortha atha
16. tśaduhtar		sachāyāyana
17. atho Māgāsārāvayo		
18. Dāsakāyāṇā		

28 So Ed., D; Pa sām-; P1 sāmānyāṇā; Daa sāmānyāṇā; R saumanasāyana-; 29 So P, D, R, Sk; Ed. -valli; Daa vrahmava only; S -bali.
30 Perhaps (though probably not, cf. Mān., W) dittography of the following name; D1, Daa cauli; D2, P1 vauli; Pa cauri; Ed. cau only; R (ē)vaulyāḥ; Sk colayāḥ; S omits.
31 So S, cf. Baudh. no. 4; Ed., P peuri; D1 paurnasavah; Daa peurāsvah; Daa gaurisravasaḥ.
Daa pārṇa-; in addition to this, S gives paurnavalkyaḥ; Pa repeats pārṇavalkyaḥ.

1 D2 sai-; P1 śālyo.
3 Final -s in S only.
4 Cf. Baudh. no. 7; Ed. vatraināḥ; S trainavāḥ; P1 natrainavāḥ; Pa traikavaraḥ; Daa catruvavah.
6 So Ed.; P1 -sm. Pa dānyāśivir; S -stich; D dāvalah sm(h); Daa dvātarasivir; cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 12, blāṣikha.
7 P1 -viti-; for ca ye, Ed., P1, Daa cai; P2 cau.
8 Cf. Mān., W; Ed., Pa, Daa ko-; P1 ke-; D sārāyanah.
9 ? So D; Daa laṅga-; Pa, Ed. lga-; P1 bhāgahayā; S gālagrahayāḥ.

10 P1 kaurekrd, S gaura-.
12 So Ed., D2 -kaṣah; Daa -kavo, D1 śāvāyāḥ, P śāmkarāḥ
13 So Pa, D2a kasāvēḥ, P1 kasāpetevā.
S kasamevāḥ, Ed. śāpēḥ
14 Cf. gāṇa dīmāyāḥ, and Kāvika on Pān 4. 3. 104. P1 audalaparavah, ca ye, restored.
Ed. cātha, P1 āyo, Pa sūvāḥ, D1 āpāḥ
16 So Ed.; P1 taduhit only; Pa taduhitar
Daa taduhitar; S sveduhitar; D1 dubhitaḥ
17 So S, cf. gāṇa bāhoddī; Daa, P1 māsa-
Ed. māsapa-; Pa mākhāsārāvāḥ; D1 māva-
rāviv.
18 So P, Daa, D1; Ed. dāna-; S sasa- (cf. Mān.); Daa kaśāṇayāḥ.

W
28 mīmanasāyati.
31 kaurāsvavag-
2 mahākanyā.

Mān.
28 -our
31 kaurāsvavag-
7 bhāgavittāyāṇā ca ye.
8 kaumārāyāṇā.

	W	Mān.
19. tśāhyavalkyo	22. Ālambāyāṇāḥ	22. ālavyāyāṇā
20. Gaurathā	8. Kaumārāyāṇāḥ	8. Kaumārāyāṇāḥ
21. Kaundodaraṇya	kaulakir	kaulodakir
22. Ālambāyāṇāḥ	23. Audgāhamāni-	28. Audgāhamānayāḥ
23. Prāṇabāyāṇāḥ	pārāvāṣṭāri	pā evākari-
24. Aupamanyavāḥ	gaulvova-	lākmāneyāḥ
25. sadyāyanyo	damkip	gāṇḍūlavoddhaki
26. Dāśakāḥ	15. śāṅkhāyāṇā	15. Sāmkhyāyāṇā
27. Pīḍakāyāṇā	akāmbhāyāṇā	
28. Audgāhamānaya	24. Aupamanyavāḥ	24. Aupamanyavāḥ
29. Aupalekhayo	21. Kaundodari-	21. Kaundodari-
30. Brāhmaṇavāḥ	vaidarbi-	kaidarbi-
31. Pārṇagāṇir iti	taluvī-	nāhaki-
	bāhuvidhaddha-	bāhavi-
	dhatuvi-	
	dhaumavata-	dhaumavata-
	maujjakāyāṇā	maujjāyāṇa-
	18. Dāsakāyāṇā iti	18. āśakāyāṇā iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛi prvara, 'Vasiṣṭha, Ābharadvasavya, Aindrapramada'.

1. Aupavasathāḥ	1. tśauvasasti-	1. aupavasathi
2. Svasthayaḥ ca	2. svasthayaḥ ca	2. svasthayaḥ ca
3. Lohā	3. ye ālohā	
4. Lohayaḥ ca ye	4. lobhāyāṇā	4. ālohāyāṇā ca ye
5. Mādhyarpdinā	5. Mādhyarpdināḥ	5. Mādhyarpdinā
6. Akṣitayāḥ	6. kṣitayāḥ	6. Akṣitayāḥ

19 So Ed., D; Pa -vakayo; (Pa also, by dittography, vānyāśvavaddho); P1 vāhyavalkyo; Daa vrtihastakyo; S vrtihastakāyāṇā valkyo; D1 vhyavalkyo.
20 S, Ed. -thā; D1 go-; Daa mo-.
21 Restored, cf. Baudh. no. 16, Mān., W; Ed. aupadavaya; S cāndrodasya, P1 kauṇḍodaraṇya; Pa chidḍūrya; Daa kauṇḍodaraṇya; D1 kauṇḍodari.
22 Restored; D2 alamba-; Ed., Pa, S alava-; P1 alayavāṇā.
23 So D1; Ed., Pa pralava-; S palava-; P1 pralavayāṇā; Daa apayāṇā; Daa omits.
25 ? So D2 (or sīgāḥ); Daa -syano; Ed. nadyā-; Pa savyānyo panyo; P1 sadyāsvavayohyo; D1 sadyāpatyāḥ.
26 So D1, cf. gāṇa tihakāṭarāḥ; Daa dā-; Ed., P dā-; D2 vā-.
27 S palavā-; Daa pālāpka- (cf. however, Matsya).
28 Cf. Baudh. no. 13, gāṇa pālāḥ; Pa -manaya; P1 audrahāmanayāḥ; Ed. audgāhamataya; Daa trepadhāmaśpa; S aujāhamānaya.

30 So Ed., P1, Daa; Daa vrti-; Pa vrahmayāḥ only; D1 brahmavāḥ; S brāhmavāḥ.
31 So Ed., D1; P1 pāgo-; Pa -gādir; Daa -gār it; Daa pāṇir it; S pāṇigāḥ.
1 P1 opanava-; S ausvāḥ.
2 So Ed., P1 (-h); Pa svasthayaḥ; R svasthāyo; Sk svasthaya; D1 svauliḥ; D2 svasthaliḥ; S svastayaḥ ca; only S has the word ca, for the others see next.
3 So S; Ed. svalokā; P1, D1 svalokāyā; Pa khalokā; Daa svalikya; R ākoka.
4 Ed. omits ye.
5 Ed. omits
6 So S; rest here, akṣitayāḥ (Pa -ā ca).

W
28 suhvanāpi.
21 kauṇḍodari.
Mān
28 audgāhamānā.

¹ MS. -dāre ai(n)dra- (Ed. indra-).

	W	Mān.
7. Paipallādi-	7. Paippalādi-	7. Paippalādi-
8. Vidharṇakṣi	8. jahnuṣi	8. divanṇakṣi
9. Traisṛṅgā	12. Kauṇḍinyā	12. Kuṇḍino
10. Gaugulayāḥ	11. Maitravarupā	11. Mitravarupā iti
11. Mitravarupāḥ	10. gaugululayā it	
12. Kuṇḍinā iti		

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vasiṣṭha, Maitravarupa, Kauṇḍinya', etc.

lohunyanām phālgunīyās
teṣām tryāṇṣyaḥ pravaro
bhavati, vās. lohinya
phālgunīyete hotā, etc.

1. Jātūkarṇya	2. ʔadyāʔ 'rabodha-
2. Baudhayaḥ	1. jātkarṇya-
3. pātālaya iti	3. pātāvā ity eṭṣām avivā-
	has teṣām tryāṇṣyaḥ
	pravaro bhavati, vās.
	ārtavodha pātaveti hotā,
	pātavād ruvodhavad
	(sic) vās. i.a.

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vasiṣṭha, Ātri, Jātūkarṇya', etc.

1. Kāpūḍāyo	1. kādūḥayo*	1. kāndūḥayo*
2. Vāhanayo	2. vāhatapam	2. vāhatapam
3. Jaimayo	3. jānyayo	3. jānyayo
4. Bhaimatāyanā	4. dhaimaimapanāyanā	4. matmanāyanā
5. Gopālir eṣām pañcama	5. Gopālir eṣām pañcama	5. Gopālir eṣām pañcama
ete Ārupāḥ Parāśarāḥ	ete ʔkāmāḥ Parāśarāḥ	ete Nīlāḥ (MS nā-) Parāśarāḥ

7 Pa pūṣyādi.
8 ʔ So Ed., Sk, R; Pa vidhakt; P, D
viśvakaṣāḥ; D 1 viśvakaṣāḥ; S viśvakaṣi.
9 D -bhṛṅgab.
10 Conj., cf. Baudh. no. 3; Ed. maudgala-
lulāya; P 1 maudgalululūyā; P 2 maudgalululūyā;
D maudgalab hūl(āyāḥ); S ʔungāmdugmaud-
gula
11 R, Sk mai-; S inverts nos. 11 and 12.

2 So P, D; Ed. bodhāyanāḥ; R arthavoghāḥ,
cf. W.

3 So Ed., D, P 1 pātha-, Pa pāthā it, D
pāthir
1 So Ed., P 1 kāndu-; Pa kādūḥayo, S -syo
2 So P, D Ed. vāharamo, S vāhavo
3 So P, D, Ed. S je-
4 So P, D bhaimāyana, S bhaimakāyana
5 P 1 govalir, Ed. gopānir, Pa gopānir,
S rogāyanir.

Mān.

7 uppalādi
12 kuṇḍino.

* We would expect Ātreya, which, however, appears in none of the sources. The first two names of this family have already occurred among the Vasiṣṭhas proper; for Jātūkarṇya, compare Baudhāyana no. 11, Mān., W no. 14; for Baudhi, compare R. & L., Mān., W no. 11, and it is possible that we should compare pātālaya (W pātāvā) with Baudh. no. 10, Vātsya
* The order of the Parāśaras in W and Mān. is: 6-10, 1-5, 21-25, 26-30, 16-20, 11 15.

	W	Mān.
26. Āviṣṭhāyanā	26. āviṣṭhāyanā	26. āviṣṭhāyanā
27. Vārṇeyāḥ	27. vārṇeyāḥ	27. vārṇeyāḥ
28. Śyāneyāḥ	28. śāneyāḥ	28. śāneyāḥ
29. ʔślokaryās ca (ye)	29. ślokaryās ca ye	29. lokāyās ca
30. ʔṣṭhāyāḥ eṣām pañ-	30. ʔṣṭhāyāḥ eṣām pañ-	30. vākṣir eṣām pañcama
cama ete Kṛṣṇāḥ Parāśarāḥ	cama ete Gaurāḥ (Ms. gorāḥ, corr. gārāḥ) Parāśarāḥ	ete Gaurāḥ Parāśarāḥ

6. Prāroḥayo	6. palohayā	6. plāhāhāyo
7. Vāikayāḥ	7. vāikayāḥ	7. vaidyukayāḥ
8. Plākṣayāḥ	8. plākṣayāḥ	8. Plākṣayāḥ
9. Kaumudādayāḥ	9. kaumudādayo	9. Kaumudādayāḥ
10. Hāryāvīr eṣām pañ-	10. ʔharyāvīr eṣām pañ-	10. hācīr eṣām pañcama
cama ete Nūāḥ Parāśarāḥ	cama ete ʔaukṣapāḥ ʔ par-	ete Raktāḥ Parāśarāḥ
	sarāḥ	

16. Pāthikā	16. dadhikro	
17. Bādarī caiva	17. Vādarī caiva	
18. Skambhinīyāḥ	18. skambhinīyāḥ (sic)	
19. kōukavādāyāḥ	19. kōukavādāyāḥ	(Omits nos. 16-20)
20. kṣaurir eṣām pañcama	20. siṣṭhikṣhā pañcama*	
ete Śvctāḥ Parāśarāḥ	ete Dhūmrāḥ Parāśarāḥ	

21. Kṛṣṇājīnāḥ	21. Kārṇājīnāḥ
22. ʔkapigrothā	22. kapūrothāḥ
23. ārkayāḥ	23. kārkyāḥ

(Omits nos. 21-25)

For ease of reference, the numbering of the Baudh. list is here used in all the others.

26 P, D 1 eṣā-; D 2 eṣā-.

27 Restored; Ed. vārī; P, S vārī; P 2 vārīkarī.

28 P 1 dyātreyāḥ.

29 So Ed. (without ye); Pa ślokaryās ca; P, D ślokaryās ca; S ślokaryās ca.

30 Pa ʔṣṭhāyāḥ eṣām pañcama (and, by ditto-graphy, ʔṣṭhāyāḥ eṣām pañcama).

7 Restored, cf. Baudh.; Ed., P, D 1 vāhāyāḥ; Pa vāhāyāḥ; D 2 bāhūḥ.

8 Restored; S pākṣayāḥ; Ed. prākṣayāḥ; P 1 prākṣayāḥ (and prācṣayāḥ, ditto-graphy); P 2 prākṣayāḥ; D prākṣayāḥ.

9 Cf. Baudh.; S kaumudāyāḥ; Ed. kōukavādāyāḥ, P 1 kōukavādāyāḥ, P 2 kārāvādāyāḥ, D 1 kōukavādāyāḥ, D 2 kaumikavādāyāḥ.

10 This name appears in all the sources in place of no. 25, which has been transferred to here. Comparison with the other lists leaves

no doubt that such an interchange must be admitted, but it remains uncertain whether the subfamily names (Nīlā, Gaurā) have also been dislocated. The other lists give us no help in this matter, and I have assumed that the line as a whole has been misplaced, Nīlā remaining with Hāryāvīr and Gaurā with Parāśarāḥ. For Hāryāvīr, P 1 harya-; Ed. haryarī; P 2 haryāvīr.

16 So Ed.; P 1 māṣṭhikā; Pa māṣṭhikā; D māndikāḥ.

17 Ed. -sā caiva.

18 So P (but gana kuṣṭhādi, skambhinīyāḥ); Ed. skambhinīyāḥ; D skambhinīyāḥ.

19 So Ed., P 2, P 1 -cādaya.

20 So Ed., P, D.

22 So Ed.; P 1 -gorthā; Pa parigrothā; D 1 kapūrothāḥ; D 2 kapūrothāḥ; S kārṇājīnāḥ.

23 So P, Ed.; P 1 arkayā; S ārkayāḥ; D 1 akampa-; D 2 akapa-.

* Comparison with the other lists makes it probable that we ought to interchange nos. 20 and 30 in W (and perhaps also the names Dhūmrā and Gaurā).

IV

Mān.

24. ānaśāhayaḥ
25. Pauṣkarasādir eṣām pañ-
cama ete Gaurāḥ Parāsārāḥ

24. śāratapah
25. Puskarasādir eṣām pañ-
cama ete Kṛṣṇāḥ Parāsārāḥ

11. Kālyāyanir
12. vairiṇeyā
13. †trairpayo
14. Bālvayūpayaḥ
15. tarāṇir eṣām pañcama
ete Dhūmrāḥ Parāsārāḥ

(Omits nos. 11-15)

ete viṇśat (sic) parāsārāḥ
etc., as in K. & L.

11. khākhāllāyānā
12. vārsāyānā
13. pūrṇayo
14. Vūvayūpavah
15. nāmīr eṣām pañcama
ete Sūklāḥ Parāsārāḥ
ete trīṇśat parāsārāḥ, etc.,
as in K. & L.

These thirty Parāsaras have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Śaktya, Pārāsarya', etc.

D. Āśvalāyana

Of the Vasiṣṭhas, 'Vāsiṣṭha', except for the Upamanyus, Parāsaras, and Kuṇḍinas.

Of the Upamanyus, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Ābharadvasavya,¹ Aindrāpramada'.

Of the Parāsaras, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Śaktya, Pārāsarya'.

Of the Kuṇḍinas, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kaundinya'.

E. Matsya Purāṇa

Learn from me the Brahmins who are born in the family (*vaṃśa*) of Vasiṣṭha. The Vasiṣṭhas are said to have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara. The Vasiṣṭhas and the Vasisthas have no intermarriage with the descendants of Vasiṣṭha (*vaṃśīsthaja*).

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Vyāghrapādā | 5. Sātvalāyānā | 8. Āśvalāś ca |
| 2. Aupagavā | 6. Kapiṣṭhālā | 9. Vasiṭkarā |
| 4. Vagilā | 7. Auḍulomā | 10. Gopāyānā |

(24 So Pa; S āśla; Ed. śātapāḥ; P₁ nityapā
in these two, haplography of the syllables
haya, since in the manuscript, the following
name is given as ha(r)asyavir, etc., see next);
D nyab tapah.
25 See note to no. 10; for pauṣkarasādir (Ed.);
P₁ pauka-; D pauka-; P₂ -syādir; P₂
(ditto-graphy) also paukarah svādir.

11 ? So S (-ih); Ed., D vyāpā-; P₁ vyākhyā-;
P₁ vyāpāyānir.
12 So Ed., D; P₁ -yo; P₂ -ṇoyo.
13 So S; all the others here omit.
14 P₂ bālvay-; D -yupib.
15 D₂ tarinir.

1 P₁ -padā.
3 P₁ -vavā.
4 ? Cf. K & L; Ed., P₂, Kṛṣṇaṇavāḥ P₁.
D₁ vaṃsyavir; M vaiklavāḥ; D₂ vaṃsavāḥ
S vaivāḥ.
5 Cf. K. & L.; P₁ sarva-; Ed., P₂ sūru-;
Kṛṣṇaṇu-; M āśva-; S āślu-.
7 Cf. K. & L.; all, aupulomā (except S, aup-
lāmā).
8 Cf. K. & L.; P₁ adhvāyā (D₁ ādhvāyā-;
M āśvādhāś ca; S adhvāyā-).
9 Restored, Ed. mātṛ karāḥ; P₁ sādākarāḥ;
S lātākarāḥ; M kārāḥ kārāḥ; D₁ sūlākarāḥ;
D₂ vāśvākarāḥ.
10 M gaup-

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VASIṢṬHAS

11. Baudhayaś ca
12. dākvavā
13. aṣṭa Vāhyakṛt
14. †vāśīśayāḥ
15. pālīśayāḥ
16. tato vāgrathayaś ca ye
17. āyathsthūpāḥ
18. Śucivṛkṣas

21. tathā Brahmapureyāśāḥ
22. Lomāyānāḥ
23. Svastikarāḥ
24. †cāpādāḥ
25. gōḍilīs tathā
26. vāyālohapib
27. Sumanasā

23. Kāptheviddhis tathāiva
24. caulir
26. vaulir
29. Brahmavalaḥ
31. Gaurīśvava eva ca
33. Pārpavā
32. Yājñavalkyaś ca

These great *ṛṣi*s have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha'. They have no intermarriage
one with another.

1. Śailālayo
2. Vāhākrayāḥ
3. Kauravavah
4. krodhinas tathā
5. Kapiṣṭhājalo
6. Vāśīśkico

7. Bhāgvatīyānāś ca ye
8. Kaumārīyāṇa-
9. Bhāganīḥ
10. Kaurakṛd
11. Bhāgurīyāṇā
12. †śākāhayaḥ

13. śākādhīyah
14. aṣṭo Aulapayaś ca ye
15. Śāmkhyānāś
16. †tuhāśāś ca
17. aṣṭo Māṇasārīyavah

11 Restored; M bodhapāś ca; S dhauryaś ca;
P₁ dhavayāś ca, Ed. thovayāś ca, Kṛṣṇaṇopāś.
12 So M; P₁ dāśa-; Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ; D₂ dāśayāḥ.
13 So P; M hy aṣṭa vāhyakṛt.
14 So M; P₁ Mā bālī-; P₂ vāśīśayāḥ, P₁ tili-
śayāḥ; D₁ tiliśayāḥ; D₂ tiliśāḥ; Ed. tili-
śayāḥ, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ.
15 So M, P₁ -sayāḥ; Ed. -nayāḥ; D₂ samah;
D₁ omits; Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ.
16 So P₂, S, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ; D₁ vāgrathayaḥ;
D₂ vāgrādhīḥ, M vāgrānṭhayaś; Ed. vāya-
grathayaḥ.
17 All without medial viarga; Ed., P₂, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ
śyathsthūpāḥ; M āp-; P₁ āy-.
18 Restored, cf. K. & L.; Ed., P₁ sūti-; Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ
śucivṛkṣas; M śucivṛkṣas.
21 M brā-.
22 So M, P₂; Ed., P₁ -nah.
23 So M; Ed., P₁ svastikāś ca; Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ.
24 So Ed., P₁, D, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ; S Sk apād-; P₂
cāpād-; M cāpād-; R āvāṇapāyāḥ.
25 So P₂, D₂, S, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ.
26 So P₂, D₂, Ed. vāyā-; P₁ -yā, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ.
27 So P₂, D₂, Ed. vāyā-; P₁ -yā, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ.
28 Conj. M ca sumanāś, P₁ tu sumanāś
S tu sumanāś, P₂ sūmanavah, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ.
29 Conj. D₁ sumanāś. D₂ sūmanavah, R sūma-
navah, S sūmanavah.
30 Conj. of the other lists. M copāyāddhis
tathā ca, Ed. sūvayir viddhir eva ca;
S sūvayir viddhir eva ca, P₁ sūvayir viddhir eva
ca; P₂ sūvayir viddhir eva ca; D₁ sūvayir viddhir
evā; D₂ sūvayir viddhir; R sūvayir viddhir; S sūvayir
viddhir; M sūvayir viddhir; P₁ sūvayir viddhir.
31 So M; P₁ P₂ caulivah; P₁ caulivah; P₂ caulivah;
D₁ caulivah; D₂ caulivah; Ed. caulivah;
S caulivah.
32 So M; P₁ P₂ vāyālohapib; P₁ vāyālohapib;
P₂ vāyālohapib; D₁ vāyālohapib; D₂ vāyālohapib;
Ed. vāyālohapib; S vāyālohapib.
33 So M; P₁ P₂ vāyālohapib; P₁ vāyālohapib;
P₂ vāyālohapib; D₁ vāyālohapib; D₂ vāyālohapib;
Ed. vāyālohapib; S vāyālohapib.

29 So P₁, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ; Ed., M -lahah.
31 Restored, cf. the other lists, Ed., P₁ pauli-;
M pauliśvavaś; Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ pauliśvavaś.
32 ? For pārpavāyāś; Ed., M pārpavāyāś; P₂,
P₁ pārpavāyāś; D₁ pārpavāyāś; D₂ pārpavāyāś;
Ed. pārpavāyāś; D₂ pārpavāyāś.
33 Ed. yā-.

1 Ed. se-; Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ; S śailālayo.
2 So M, D₂; Ed., P₁, D₁ -kanavah, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ -kaika
4 So all, except Ed. krodhinas, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ krodhina.
6 So P₁ Ed. -kūḥ, P₁ -kūḥ; M vāśīśkilyāḥ;
Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ vāśīśkilyāḥ.
7 So M; P₁ -kūḥ ca ye; Ed., P₁ bhāgvavir
nāyāś ca ye; Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ bhāgvavir.
8-11 Emended in accordance with K. & L.;
Ed., P₁ kaumārīyāṇāś krodhinas krodhina.
12-14 Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ krodhinas krodhina.
15-17 Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ krodhinas krodhina.
18-20 Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ krodhinas krodhina.
21-23 Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ krodhinas krodhina.
24-26 Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ krodhinas krodhina.
27-29 Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ krodhinas krodhina.
30-32 Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ krodhinas krodhina.
33 Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ krodhinas krodhina.

12 So P₂; P₁, Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ; Ed. śākādhīyāś;
M śākādhīyāḥ.
13 D₁ śākādhīyāḥ; P₂ -yāḥ.
14 Cf. K. & L.; P₁, M upalāpāś; Ed., Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ,
upalāpāś; D₁ upalāpāś; instead of aṣṭo, Ed.,
kaṇvī, P₂ kṛṣṇaṇaḥ (leaping from here to
no. 21, and omitting all the intervening names);
all the others, kṛṣṇaḥ.
15 Cf. K. & L.; all here have śākādhīyāś.
16 So P₁; Ed. tulaḥgāś ca; D₁ sūbhakāḥ;
M (-na) ubhaktāś ca; S kṛṣṇaṇaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ;
Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ.
17 Mss. aṣṭa; M -vayāḥ; Kṛṣṇaṇaḥ as two names,
māśa śārīryavah.

¹ Mss. BāhInd, VāhPār, -dvaśā indra- (P₂ -dvaśāyāindra-).

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 18. dākāyāṇā | 21. ye ca Kauṇḍodariyāṇāḥ | 28. tujgāhā |
| 19. bālāvayo | 23. Pralambāyāṇāś ca ṛṣaya | 29. ṛṣayaś ca Aupalekhyah |
| 19a. bākayo | 24. Aupamanyava eva ca | 32. tṛāṇeyā |
| 20. Gaurāthāś tathā | 25. tṛāṇpṛkhyāṇāś ca ṛṣayaś | 30. Brahmanavayāḥ |
| 22. Ālambāyāṇāḥ | 26. tathā ye ca Daśerakāḥ | 31. Pāṇḍarāś |
| śyāmāvayo | 27. Pādākāyāna | |

All these are said to have a splendid three-ṛṣi pravara, Ābharadvasū¹ and Vasistha, and Indrapramada.² These ṛṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

- | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Aupavasthā | 5. Mādhyampidino | 9. Traiśṛṅgāyana- |
| 2. svasthalayo | 6. māksitayāḥ | 10. Guggulih |
| 3. ye Lohā | 7. Paipalādir | 11. Mitrāvayana- |
| 4. Lohayāś ca ye | 8. tṛivakṣayāḥ | 12. Kuṇḍināḥ |

All these are said to have a splendid three-ṛṣi pravara, Vasistha, and Mitrāvayana, and Kuṇḍina of great austerity.³ These ṛṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

- 19 So Ed., M₂; P₁ vā; M₁ valāvayo; D₁ bālākā; D₂ valāvā; Kṛṣ valāvaya.
 19a So Ed.; M, P₁, D₁ vā; D₂ tākū; Kṛṣ vākayo.
 20 M vāyo; Kṛṣ rapya.
 22 1 So P₁, Kṛṣ; M, Ed. lamb-
 śyāmavayo, M, Ed.; Kṛṣ śākhavaya; P₁ śyāmavay; D₂ śyāmib.
 21 Restored; Ed., M kroḍo; P₁ krauḍo;
 Kṛṣ cakroḍa dāryana.
 23 So M, Kṛṣ, P₁ (the latter also takes ṛṣaya
 as a proper name); Ed. pralambāś; P₂
 laṇvayāṇāś.
 24 P₁ upa-
 25 So all; and cf. no. 15 above; the readings
 for K & L. make it unlikely, however,
 that the name is correct here.
 26 Ed., P₁ ye ca; P₂ pañca; M vai ve; P, M
 daśerakā; Ed. das; Kṛṣ dvāś-
 27 Cf. K & L.; M₂ var. lect. pādāpāyana;
 P, M pālāṇāyana; Ed., Kṛṣ pālākhyāna;
 28 D₁ udvāḥ; D₂ udvāḥ, Kṛṣ udvoha;
 see *māneya* below.
 29 Restored; Ed., P, D₁ ba(vā)lekhalāḥ;
 M baḥkhalāḥ; Kṛṣ baḥśāvā; D₂ valokhalāḥ.
 30 *māneya* So P, D₁; Ed., M māneya; D₂
 māṇyā; this is the other half of no. 28, see
 K & L., audgāhamāni.
 30 So P₁; P₂ brahmanavayāś ca; Kṛṣ -valaya;
 Ed. -balayaḥ; M₂ -balināḥ; M₂ -mahināḥ.

- 31 So P; Ed., M₁ parāḥ; Kṛṣ parakara,
 M₂ pānnāgrīś (for this list, see Schol. to
 Pān 2. 4. 66. it is presumably the 'Eastern'
 (prācya) form of the same name).

- 1 So Ed., P₂; P₁ apa-; Kṛṣ -svastī, M
 svastihālā.
 2 So M, Ed.; P₂ -lāyā, P₁ svastalopā Kṛ-
 svastalāyā.
 3 Conj., Fd., P₂ yālohā, P₁ yālohā M₁
 pālohā, M₂ bālohā, D₁ pālohā (after this
 name, D₂ shows that there is a considerable
 lacuna in D₁); D₂ pāleḥ; Kṛṣ pālūt a
 4 So p; M lohālāś ca ye; Kṛṣ loḥaya.
 5 Kṛṣ -dini; Ed. -dihko.
 6 So Ed., P₂; P₁ -taryob; M māksa-; Kṛṣ
 mohitaya.
 8 So M, Ed. vicakṣa; P₁ vāḥ tāhā; P₂
 vāḥ vāḥ, D₂ vāḥ vāḥ.
 9 So M, Ed. -sūgāyana, P₁ sūmāśāyana,
 Kṛṣ trasamāśāyana, S trasamāśāyana, D₂
 vāḥ sūmāśāyana, P₂ trasamāśāyana.
 10 Conj. restored, cf. K & L., Fd. saugā-
 P₁, D₂ saugāḥ Kṛṣ saugāḥ, S saugāḥ
 P₂ saugāḥ, M₁ saivākāḥ, M₂ saivākāḥ.
 11, 12 Restored, cf. K & L., Fd. trivakṣa-
 dīnāśātāmāḥ, P₂ vāgūns ca mahāpāṇāḥ, D₂
 vāgūnāśāyana, P₂ vāgūnāśātāmāḥ, Kṛṣ vā-
 gūnāśāyana, M₂ kundinaś ca narot-
 tama

- | | | |
|---------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Jātūkarṇyo | 2. tvasiṣṭhaś ca | 3. pādapaś ca tathaiva ca |
|---------------|------------------|---------------------------|
- All these are said to have a splendid three-ṛṣi pravara, Jātūkarṇya, and Vasistha, and Atri, O king. These ṛṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

These pre-eminent ṛṣis, O king, founders of gotras¹ in the family of Vasistha have been named by me, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

[Purustottama next quotes in full the legend of Vasistha and king Nmi, which follows in the Purāṇa text, including the story of the birth of Vasistha from the sperm of both Mitra and Varuṇa. The account of the Parāśaraś follows.]

Parāśara was the son of Śakti. Learn his line from me. . .

1. Kāṇḍāśayo
2. Vāhanayo
3. Jaimayo
4. Bhaimatāyanaḥ
5. Gopālir eṣām pañcamā
ete Gaurāḥ Parāśarāḥ

6. Pāṇḍarāyo
7. bāḥyatayāḥ
8. Plākṣayāḥ
9. kauṭjātayāḥ
10. Hāryāśvir eṣām pañcamā
Nūlā jñeyāḥ Parāśarāḥ

21. Kṛṣṇājñāḥ
22. kapiśreṣṭhāḥ
23. kārkeya-
24. tṛtājapātayāḥ
25. pañcamāḥ Puṣkaraśāśidḥ
Kṛṣṇā jñeyāḥ Parāśarāḥ

- 1 M₂ jātrā; M₂ śivakarna.

- 2 So p, except P₂ vasiṣṭha; M₂ vasyāś caiva;
 possibly we should read boudhayaś ca, with
 K & L.

- 3 So M; Ed. jādāyāś ca; P₁ vajrapādāś ca;
 D₁ vajrapādāḥ atyāḥ; D₂ vajrapādāḥ -apṛta
 Kṛṣ ajādāyāś ca; P₂ dāyāḥ saukṛtāḥ kṣagāḥ
 (D gives these names—but D₁ saumikāḥ,
 D₂ saukṛtāḥ—with the notice, iti kṣaiti).

- 1 Cf. the other lists; M₂ var. lect. kāṇḍāśayo;
 M₂ kāṇḍāśayo; M₁ kāṇḍāśapo; P₂ -āśayo;
 Ed. -arapo; P₁, Kṛṣ kādāyo.

- 2 So P₂, P₁ jaimamau, Ed. jaimavapo, M₂
 jaimapo, Kṛṣ jaima only.

- 3 So P₂ P₁ bhāumatāyanaḥ, Fd., M₂
 bhāumatāpāṇāḥ, Kṛṣ mogantāyana. In the
 sub-heading M₂ notes that two manuscripts
 read Kṛṣṇāḥ instead of Gaurāḥ

- 6 Cf. the other lists; M₂ var. lect. pāṇḍarāś;
 M₂ parapāyāḥ; Ed., P₂, Kṛṣ pāṇḍarāś;
 P₁ apohayāḥ.

- 7 So Ed.; Kṛṣ -tapā; P₂ vā; M, P₁ vāhyamayāḥ.
 8 Restored; Ed. pāryeyāḥ; P₂ pāryeyāḥ; P₁
 dhyāyāḥ; M khyāyeyāḥ; Kṛṣ pāryāḥ.

- 9 So Ed., P₁, M; Kṛṣ -jantava; P₂ kauru-
 jāyāṇā.
 10 M hā-; P₁ haryāśvir; Ed. haryāśva; P₂
 dvairāśvir; Kṛṣ haiyāśgavi.

- 21 Restored; Ed., P₂, Kṛṣ, M kārṇḍāyāḥ;
 P₁ kārṇḍāyāḥ.

- 22 So Ed.; P₁, M₁ -sukṣhāḥ; M₂ -mukṣhāḥ,
 var. lect. -dravāḥ; P₂ kāsivasevāḥ; Kṛṣ kāsivaseva.

- 23 So Ed., P₂; M₂ kārkeya; P₁ kārkeya; Kṛṣ
 kārkeyāḥ.

- 24 So M, P₁; P₂, Ed. sūnyāśtāyāḥ; P₂ sūnyā-
 tayaḥ; Kṛṣ yūnyāḥ.

- 25 Restored; M₂ puṣkaraś pañcamāś caṣṭṣaḥ.

¹ Instead of *arpa gotra-kārāḥ*, M has *satatam dvijendrah*.

¹ So P₂, S; P₁ ābharadvakṣu; Ed. bharadvakṣu; M bhagadvakṣu; Kṛṣ gives both ābharadvakṣu and bharadvakṣu.

² M, P₁ -pramādir.

³ M₂ here inserts *dānakāya mahācitra nāgeyāḥ paramāś tatha, ālambā vāyamaś eṣām (et)*
ye cakroḍāyā naraḥ

26. Āvsthāyana-
27. Vārṇeyah
28. Śyāmeśāś
29. t̥cokayas ca ye
30. Iṣṭikahasta pañcama
ete Svetāś Parāśarāḥ
16. Pāṭhikā
17. Bādariś caiva
18. stambhanvāḥ
19. krodhanāvānāḥ
20. kṣaumi at ir eśāp pañcama
ete Śyāmāś Parāśarāḥ
11. Khalyāyanaś
12. vārsnāyanaś
13. taileyah
14. Baṭṭavayūpayaś
15. t̥tantir eśāp pañcama
ete Dhūmrāś Parāśarāḥ

All the Parāśaras are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Parāśara, and Śakti, and Vasiṣṭha of great austerity. None of the Parāśaras have any intermarriage one with another.¹

The Parāśaras, of might like the sun, leaders of families, have been told to you, O king, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

Puruṣottama comments:

The five gatas here given have no intermarriage because of sameness of gotra. This results from the fact that the name Vasiṣṭha occurs, either in actual fact or implicitly in all the pravaras. The Samkṛtis, etc., avoid all the Vasiṣṭhas in marriage, as well as those mentioned in their own gata, as has already been stated in the Āṅgiraśa-chapter.

26 So Ed., P₁; M₁ -śtā-; P₂ āpiśṭāyanaś;
M₂ āśvīṣṭhāyana; Kṛṣ omits nos. 26-30.
27 Restored; Ed., M₁ vāleyāś; M₂ bāleyāś;
P₁ vāleyāś; P₂ bāleyeyāś.
28 Restored; P₁, M svāyasthāś; P₂ svāyasthāś;
Ed. svāyasthāś.
29 So P₂; P₁, M copayas (M -āś) ca ye; Ed.
caṣṭhāyāś.
30 P₁ t̥cokayas; P₂ t̥cokayas.

16 Ed. pāth-; M₁ pāpko; M₂ vāpko; P, Kṛṣ
pāpika.
17 Kṛṣ vāhari.
18 So P₂; P₁, Ed. -tyāḥ; M stambh vai;
Kṛṣ ekastamba.

19 So M; P₂ krauñcakāśayāś; Ed. krauñcakāś-
bākāś; P₁ krauñcakāśikāś; Kṛṣ krauñcakāśikāś.
20 Ed., M kṣaumi, P₂ kṣaumar, Ś vadhas
ca kṣaumi, Kṛṣ vātākṣa.
Kṛṣ omits nos. 11-15.

11 So M; P₂ -ni; P₁ khalyāni; Ed. khalyā-
yanaś.
12 So M, Ed.; P₂ vāpāyanaś; P₁ vāpā-
pāni.

13 So M, Ed.; P₁ t̥antir; P₂ nāpāḥ.
14 Restored; Ed. khalu yūdhapāḥ; M khalu
yūdhapāḥ; P₁ khalu yūpayaś; P₂ khalu
pūpayaś.
15 M tantir; P₁ tāgair; Ed. bhānir. P₂
eteśāp pañcamaś t̥antir.

¹ M₁ omits this paragraph.

The name Maitrāvraṇa in the pravara of the Kuṇḍinaś is to be understood to denote two ṛṣis, and not the well-known deities, because of the text: 'Not by gods, not by men, but by ṛṣis only does he choose the āṛṣeya'. Moreover, Mitra and Varuṇa are ṛṣis only when together, not severally, because of the text, 'He does not choose four'. Also, the *Matsya Purāṇa* says¹ that while Mitra and Varuṇa were practising austerities in the Bādari hermitage, Urvaśi came there, and when they saw her, their sperm was spilt, and happened to be caught in a pitcher full of water. From this Vasiṣṭha was born; and from Vasiṣṭha, Kuṇḍina. Thus, Mitra and Varuṇa have a united ṛṣi-hood and a united father-hood.

¹ In the legend above, before the Parāśaras. Agastya is there also said to have been born at the same time and in the same manner.

W	Mān.
12. Arbudānām	12. Arbudānām
13. †medinīpañcapā	Āgastyā-
14. dāvatānām	vai-karṇyātānām
15. āgadādyā-†	śarageravāḥ
16. Hārigrivīnām	†rṣāyānām
17. †sainṛyā-	vā(thā)hyerāṇḍeya-
18. vittamayo	vairāṇḍeya-
19. ravatānām †iti	vahvaiki-
	nahvīdyami-
	śaphākṣi-
	kudrīvākṣi-
	ramyākṣi-
	prādurākṣi-
	dāmoṣm
	vaśubharāḥ
	śubharāyāṇa-
	bhargyānām
	śaśdevī iti

Pravara as in K. & L.

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āgastyā, Dārḍhacyuta, Aidhmavāha', etc.

1. Agastayah	1. Agastyah	
2. Karambhayah	2. Karambhayah	
3. Kurunūdyah	3. kunāthāḥ	
4. Kauśalyāḥ		
5. Sumedhaso	5. surodhaso	Mān. omits.
6. Mayobhuvo		
7. Gāndhārāyaṇāḥ	7. yogandhrāyaṇāḥ	
8. Paulastayah	8. Pulastyah	
9. Pulahāḥ	9. Pulahāḥ	

12 Pa mudānām.	1 Sk agastyayah.
13 So Ed., P2 medinīpañcapā; P1 edini- pañcakā, D1 medinīpañcakā, D2 medinī- pañcakā; S meṇyanīpañcapā	2 P2 -bhah
14 So Pa, Ed.; P2 dādatānām; D devatā; S rāṇḍātānām.	3 So P1, D1, D2 -nādyah; Ed., P2 kūrjāḥ. S kūrjāḥ
15 So P (P1 -dyā); Ed. āgadādyā; D āgadāḥ; D1 āgavah; S āgadadyā.	4 So P, R, Sk; D1 kausalyah, D2 kausalyā. Ed. kauśalyāḥ.
16 So P1 (but without anusvāra); P2, Ed. -ānām; D1 -ub	5 † So Sk; P1, D khagevaso, Ed. kharnevaso. S śvamedhaso; P2 ścarnevaso.
17 So P2, Ed. sau-; D2 saśirah; P1 śairīya; D1 śairīyah, S saurīyā.	6 Sk somayo
18 So P1; Ed. vittamayo; P2 vittamā; S vittamā, D1 vittapah; D2 vittapah.	7 So Ed., P2, rest, gāndhā-
19 So Ed., P2, S, P1 ravatānām; D1 ava- tānāḥ; D2 avatānā.	8 So Ed., Sk; P pulastayah, R pulastya- māyah, D1 pulastih; D2 punahasti

12 arbudānām.

Mān.

W	Mān.
10. Kratur iti	10. Kratur
	Mahendra
	Mayobhuvā ¹ iti
	Pravara as in K & L.

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āgastyā, Mahendra, Mayobhuvā', etc.

The Paurṇamāsā-Pāraṇas² have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Āgastyā, Paurṇamāsā, Pāraṇa', etc.

The following additional families have nothing corresponding in the other Sūtras, and for the most part the text is beyond repair.

W	Mān.
	narpi-
	vimali-
	dhimali-
	pināvākṣi-
	sāyaki ity eteśām, etc.
	āgastyā pināvākṣi śāyaki hotā, etc. ³

prācīnapravaraḥ	prācīnapravaraḥ ⁴
vākṛyā	kāpeyāḥ
akra-	akra-
śakra-	śakra-
śuka-	śuddhasa-
hama-	
vāsa-	cāsa-
bhāsa-	bhāsa-
hamavarcī-	hamavarcī ⁵
Himodakā ity eteśām, etc.	Himodakā ity eteśām, etc.

Āgastyā hamavarcā himodaketi hotā, etc. Āgastyā haima varci himoda ke ti hotā, etc.

akri-	akri-
cakri-	cakri-
arci-	arci-
carci-	carci-
himodaki-	himodaki-
pārīpakā ity eteśām, etc.	pārīpakā ity eteśām, etc.

āgastyā pāmāka pārīpaketi hotā pārīpavat, etc. āgastyā pināyaka pārīpaketi hotā pārīpavat, etc.

¹ MS. -bhava (and similarly in the pravara).

² Ed. paurāna, and in the pravara, paurāna, paurānavat, P1 pārnā; P2 pārīyānā; but both P1, P2 have pāraṇa in the pravara.

³ Given in the vs. before the Idhmavāhas. They are repeated below.

⁴ Except for the family beginning Akra- cakra-, all the remainder of the Mān. account of the Agastis is misplaced in the middle of the concluding section, between the phrases dryāmuṣyādyā dhāvanti and vāchataḥ chaṇḍa-śaurīnām.

⁵ MS. haubhan arca

W	Mān.
nandi- vimaliṣ- ciliṁi- vileyam mimlīki pinā(ya)ka- sāyākā ity eteṣām, etc. āgastyā paināka sāyāketi hotā, etc.	nandi- vimili- licili- mimlīki- pināyaki- sāyāketi hotā sāyākat, etc. (sic lacuna).
akra- śakra- śakraṇha- cāṣa- bhāṣa- haimscarci- homodakā (sic) ity eteṣām, etc., āgastyā mādhyama paupriṇeti hotā pūṇāvan madhyamayad ag. i. a.	akra- śakra- śakra- jātye haimandakty (sic) eteṣām, etc., āgastyā mādhyama māyo- bhuveṭi hotā, etc. madhyama-pūṇāṣa teṣāṃ tryāṇṣeṣāṃ, etc. āgastyā mādhyama pūriṇeti hotā, etc.

D. *Āvalāyana*

Of the Agastis, 'Āgastyā, Dārḍhacyuta, Aidhmavaha'; or else the last name is Somavāha, 'Āgastyā, Dārḍhacyuta, Saumavāha'.

E. *Matrya Purāṇa*

The fish said: Next I shall tell the Brahmins born in the family of Agastyā

1. Agastayāḥ	5. Sumedhaso	8. Paulastayāḥ
2. Karambhayāḥ	6. Mayobhuvāḥ	9. Paulahās caiva
4. Kauśilyāḥ	7. tathā Gāndhārakāyāḥ	10. Kratu-varṇāśa-bhāvāḥ tathā
3. karatāḥ tathā		

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Agastyā, and Mahendra, and Mayobhuva the *ṛṣi*. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

- 1 M agastyā ca.
2 M karambhāśa ca.
4 So M; Pz -āḥ; Ed. -āḥ; Kṛṣ kodāḥyā;
Pz kauśilyāḥ.
3 So Pz, M; Ed. -āḥ; Mz śakāḥ; S
karatāḥ; Pz, Kṛṣ omits nos. 3, 5, 6

- 7 So Ed., M; Pz gandhā-; Pz gandhāraka-
rayāḥ, Kṛṣ gāndhārāyāḥ
9 Pz paunahāś.
10 So Ed., M; Pz kratur varṇastavāḥ t.
Pz kratur varṇastavāḥ t; Kṛṣ catu(-)
viśasta.

¹ Given in Mān. immediately after the Idhmavāhas. The pravara here belongs to the missing Agastis.

'The Paurṇamāsas and Pāraṇas' are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, "Agastyā, and Paurṇamāsa, and Pāraṇa"¹ of great austerity. The Paurṇamāsas and Pāraṇas are not intermarriageable.

'Thus the line of descent of the *ṛṣis* has been told to you, down to the last man. 'I shall now answer any questions your Honour may care to put.'

Manu said: 'Tell me how Pulaha, Pulastya, and great-souled Kratu belong to the family of Agastyā.'

The fish said: 'That best of *ṛṣis* Kratu, being without offspring in this Manu-period, took Idhmavāha to be his son, the virtue-knowing son of Agastyā. Hence the Kratus are Agastyas. Pulaha had three sons, whose birth I shall duly relate to you later on. Pulaha, when he saw his children, was displeased, and chose to be his son Dṛḍhacyuta² the son of Agastyā. 'Thus the Paulahas are said to be Agastyas. 'The wise Pulastya, seeing that his sons had been born Raksases, chose to be his son the son of Agastyā. 'Thus the Paulastyas are said to be Agastyas.³

'O king, these pravaras of Brahmins have been told to you, of great power, founders of families, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.'

Puruṣottama comments:

None of the gotra-gaṇas of the Agastis here cited have intermarriage one with another, because of the identity of gotra which results from the fact that Agastyā is the eighth who is added to the seven *ṛṣis*, and also because two out of three *ṛṣis* in the pravaras coincide.

After having given the rule of no intermarriage within the eight groups of the descendants of the founders of gotras, Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Vasistha, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vasistha, and Agastis, because of identity of gotra, Kapardivamin, the commentator on Āpastamba's Sūtra, goes on to say: 'Here the Bhṛgu and Angirases make a "separate" marriage, but not if the majority of *ṛṣi*-names should be identical', but instead of attributing this to Baudhāyana, he says 'this is the view of all the Sūtra writers. Garga, however, permits the Vasisthas, Kaśyapas and Viśvāmitras also to follow the Bhṛgu and Angirases in this matter of "separate" marriage.⁴ Similarly also in the pravara-chapter of the Kathas.⁵ But the rest disapprove of this.' Therefore, there is no marriage within the major gotra (*pakṣa*) in the case of these three, since where the view of two authorities is opposed to many, the opinion of the majority is to be followed. This may be seen from the maxim: 'Where conflicting duties meet

¹ Ed. *paṇṇaṇa*.

² M *dṛḍhāyuta* tu (1).

³ Mz inserts: *sagotratoḥ ime sarve paraspāram anamoyāḥ*.

⁴ I.e. marriage between the various gaṇas of the major gotra. See above, p. 66 ff.

⁵ Viz. the Laugākṣi? There is, however, nothing of this in that text as quoted by Puruṣottama.

together (in the same extended sacrifice), the duty proper to the majority of days in the rite is to be applicable to all.¹ But even on the view of those who allow this 'separate' marriage for all five major gotras, marriage within the Vasiṣṭha-gotra must still be with persons of different pravara; and within the Kaśyapa-gotra there is still no intermarriage on the one hand between the Nidhravas, [Asitas], Rebhas, and Laugākṣis² who are Vasisthas by day and Kaśyapas by night, nor on the other hand between the Devalas, Asitas, and Saṇḍilas. Nor do the Ajas have any marriage within the Viśvāmītra-gotra. All this is a matter for investigation by scholars.

¹ Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, 12. 2. 22.

² Ed. *lakṣmapa*.

CHAPTER IX

KṢĀTRIYAS AND VAIŚYAS

I SHALL now tell in order the rules of pravara and non-marriage in the case of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, and their dependance on the pravara of their purohitas, since they stand (as it were) in the relationship of children to their purohitas.

A. *Baudhāyana*

Kṣatriyas have a three-ṛṣi (pravara), 'Mānava, Aṇḍa,¹ Paurūravasa' for the Hotr, 'like Purūravas, Iḍa, Manu', for the Adhvaryu. Vaiśyas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, 'Bhālandana,² Vātsapra, Mānkila'³ for the Hotr, 'like Mankila, Vatsapri,⁴ Bhalandana' for the Adhvaryu.

B. *Āpastamba*

Next, of Kṣatriyas. If they recite their own, they have the one pravara, 'Manava, Aṇḍa, Paurūravasa', etc. Those who do not have hymn-composers should make the recitation with their purohita's pravara; those who have hymn-composers should do without their purohita's pravara. (But the correct view is that these also) should use their purohita's pravara, because of the logical argument. Vaiśyas have a one-ṛṣi pravara, 'Vātsapra' for the Hotr, 'like Vatsapri' for the Adhvaryu.

C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

[Kings have their purohita's pravara; with this too the pravara of Vaiśyas is explained. If he should recite with ṛṣi-names he should say: 'Mānava, Aṇḍa, Paurūravasa'.]⁵

D. *Ātvalāyana*

Kings have their purohita's pravara; if they should make the pravara-recitation with ṛṣis, 'Mānava, Aṇḍa, Paurūravasa'.

Puruṣottama comments:

'With ṛṣis' (*sārṣam*)⁶ means 'with ṛṣi-names' (*sahārṣeyam*).

¹ B *aiḷa*, *ilāvat*; A *aiḷa*, *ilāvat* (Ed. *ilāvat*).

² B *phāi*.

³ Ed. *mānkila*, *mankilavat*.

⁴ So Ed.; Be, U, Caland *vatsapravat*; B *vatsapramadavat* (and *vātsapramadā*).

⁵ This paragraph is cited here out of place (and somewhat inaccurately) by Puruṣottama, simply for convenience of reference. Its correct place is after the discussion of the *devyāmuyāyana*, etc., see below, p. 122. Mān. and W also give it only in the latter place. The words *sa ṛṣi* in Ed. here are an error for *sārṣim*, 'according to his rank, or origin (*vr̥ṣi*)'.

⁶ So Ed.; the better reading is *sārṣam*.

(Here follows *Puruṣottama's* comment on the *Āpastamba* rule):

Here, there are two kinds of Kṣatriyas: some have hymn-composers, and some do not. Those who have should recite their own (pravara), those who do not, the pravara of their purohita; having laid down these two *prima facie* views, he gives as the correct view (*siddhānta*) that all Kṣatriyas should recite only the pravara of their purohitas—'because of the logical argument'. Now what logical argument is meant? First, all Kṣatriyas have purohitas, and without them they have no admittance to sacrificial rites, as is seen from the etymology of purohita, 'being placed in front of him, he leads him in all matters';¹ and on the view that all Kṣatriyas should recite their own pravara, the result would be that there could be no intermarriage among them, since they would all have the same pravara.

This reasoning is applicable in the case of Vaiśyas also, since they, too, have a purohita, who is their judge² and must be a performer of the *Darvihoma*, and since the view that they should recite their own pravara would result in there being no intermarriage among them, since they would all be of the same pravara. Since the word 'king' denotes specifically an anointed king, some think that even Brahmins who have attained kingship should make the pravara-recitation with the pravara of their purohita, since they also invariably have a purohita. On this view, there is in addition no intermarriage with those who are of the same gotra as the purohita.

¹ Ed.: *pura mantri hitam eva sacraṃ mayastiti*; read *hita eva*.

² Cf. *VasDhS* 19, 40.

CHAPTER X

1. Ignorance as to pravara

I SHALL now tell how those Brahmins who are ignorant of their own gotra and pravara are to take the pravara and marriage restrictions of their own teacher (since they stand as sons to their teacher). As there is doubt on this point, the all-wise *Āpastamba* and the rest resolve the doubt by saying:

'Now a man whose family connections are not known should proclaim himself the descendant of his teacher,¹ and he recites his teacher's pravara.'

Here, 'family connections' means gotra or pravara: the man who does not know this accurately² is 'one whose family connections are not known', e.g. Satyakama, etc. Thus, Satyakama Jabala, having requested the teacher Gautama for admission as a pupil, and having been received into Gautama's protection, was asked by the latter: 'Of what gotra are you, friend?' And he replied: 'Sir, I do not know to what gotra I belong.'³ A man, therefore, who in this fashion is ignorant of his family connections should proclaim himself the descendant of his teacher, i.e. he should proclaim his teacher's gotra, or his pravara, in due order.⁴ 'He recites his teacher's pravara'—this means the same thing.

But it is objected: 'Is this not prohibited by scriptural passages such as "if a man recites the *ṛṣeya* of another, that *ṛṣi* takes the sacrifice and the enjoyment"?'⁵ No: since the sonship of a pupil is best, surpassing even a son of one's own body. As *Āpastamba* says: 'Thus the teacher piles up precepts of virtue for him, he never harms him, for from knowledge he begets him. That is the best birth; father and mother beget merely the body.' And *Baudhāyana* says: 'Those whom he begets, those whom he initiates, those whom he teaches, those for whom he sacrifices—all those become his sons.' And since this is so, pupils do not marry within the gotras of their teachers, because of having the same gotra and pravara.

2. Sacrificial matters

Baudhāyana says:

'We shall explain the *Naraśaṃsa*-(rule): *Ātreya*s, *Vadhryaśvas*, *Vādhūlas*, *Vasiṣṭhas*, *Kanvas*, *Sunakas*, *Samkṛts*,⁶ *Yaskas*, and *Rajanyas* and *Vaiśyas* all

¹ *ācāryaṃsyaṇḍyaṇam amparavacita*.

² *anṣi* is explained by *saṃyakt*.

³ *Chiknd.* Up. 4. 4. 3-4.

⁴ *ans-* is explained by *ācāryaṇḍyaṇam*.

⁵ *Āpast.*, above, p. 71.

⁶ Ed. omits this name, and in a footnote gives: *havis-samkṛti-yaska-lunakṛtājanya*; in place of *saṃkṛti-yaska*-, Be, U read *saṃkṛtaka*.

are said to be Nārāśaṃsa. Tanūnāpāt belongs to the other gotras. Kṣātrīyaś and Vaiśyaś have their purohitaś pravara—thus it is known.¹

Āpastamba and the rest say:²

'The Nārāśaṃsa is the second fore-offering in the case of the Vasiṣṭhaś and the Śunakaś; the Tanūnāpāt in the case of the other gotras.'

So also: 'A Vasiṣṭha is Brahmā-priest at the Jyotiṣṭoma [or anyone else]. So also: 'He gives gold to the Ātreya first, or second or third.' So also: 'He should not give a sacrificial fee in fear to Kaṇvaś and Kāśyaś.' So also: 'When a man is performing the thirty-six years' rite of the Sāktyaś, the (preparation of, the sacrificial cake and the office of Adhvaryu at the ceremony may be performed by him, but the position of householder (i.e. master of the rite) may be held by an Agastya alone.'³

3. References in the Law-books

Āpastamba says: 'One should not give one's daughter to a man of the same gotra.' Gautama says: 'Marriage is with persons of different pravaraś.' Also: 'Intercourse with (the wife of) a friend, a uterine sister, a woman of the same gotra, a daughter-in-law, or a cow, are all equal to violating one's teacher's wife.' Baudhāyana says: 'He who goes to a woman of the same gotra must perform the Cāndrāyana-penance.' Yama says: 'The offspring of a celibate ascetic who has intercourse with a woman, he who is begotten by a Śūdra on a Brahman woman, and the son of a man who has married a woman of the same gotra—these three are held to be Cāṇḍālaś. Yājñavalkya says: 'One should marry a woman who is free from disease, who has brothers, and who is not born in the same tṛtīya-gotra.'

And since there could be no end of quoting the pronouncements of the ritual and legal literature on the subjects of gotra and pravara, we shall content ourselves with having quoted just so much as a sample merely, for fear of producing too heavy a book. This much, however, will make it clear that the meaning of the Teachers is that the obtaining of the fruit and the avoidance of untoward consequences from the performance of all sacrificial acts can be successful only inasmuch as they are based on knowledge of the facts of gotra and pravara.

4. Marriage within the mother's gotra

The question arises: is it the mother's gotra, or the father's, or both, that one must avoid in marriage? On this point, Manu has made a statement—Manu

the all-wise, whose words have authority equal to Scripture (for the Scriptures themselves¹ have said that the word of Manu is medicine). Manu says:²

'The wife who is praised of the twice-born, in the matter of wifely duties and intercourse, is one who is not a sapinda of the mother's, and (neither a sapinda nor) a sagotra of the father's.'

Here, since on the mother's side marriage is prohibited with sapindaś only, we may understand that marriage is permitted within the mother's gotra. Moreover, if marriage within the mother's gotra were not permitted, he would have said *asagotrā* in both places in the line. This he does not say, and therefore marriage can take place within the mother's gotra. This is the one view.

Other authors of Law-books have put forward the other view:

'He who marries his mother's brother's daughter, or a woman of his mother's gotra, or one of the same pravara as himself, should leave her, and perform the Cāndrāyana-penance.'

This verse from another Law-book³ is quoted and explained by the commentators on the Law-books. Some explain it as referring to the sons of a daughter appointed by her father as a son for descent purposes (*putrikāputra*): in such a case, there can be no marriage on either side of the family, since the son belongs to both gotras. This, however, is not an intelligent interpretation, since in the case of a *putrikāputra* marriage is already sufficiently limited by the rule 'not a sagotra of the father's', and therefore to prescribe specifically 'both paternal gotras' would be superfluous.⁴ The objection is raised, that in the verse quoted, the prohibition of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is equally superfluous, since marriage is already barred in that case by the simple prohibition of marriage within the mother's gotra. The answer is: the specific mention of the mother's brother is intended to show that such a marriage is a more serious sin than marriage within the mother's gotra generally, because of the excessive closeness of the relationship, and therefore the fault of redundancy does not arise. Moreover, as we shall see below, 'a gotra is the descendants of the seven ṛsis and Agastya'. These descendants must be reckoned both on the mother's and the father's sides, since both equally stand in the parental relationship. Hence the mother's gotra must also be included in the connotation of 'one's own gotra', and thus the correct view is that marriage is prohibited on both sides of the family. It is then objected, that if a son really belongs to both gotras, should he not then take the names of his pravara from both sides, in the same way as he does the prohibition of marriage, and as

¹ TS a. 2. 10. 2.

² Mānava Dharma Śāstra 3. 5.

³ It is noteworthy that Puruṣottama apparently does not know the provenance of the quotation. The usual attribution to Śāṅkara by the writers of later legal digest would seem to be highly speculative.

⁴ The argument is that in the case of a *putrikāputra* the mother stands in the legal position of the father, for purposes of descent, funeral oblations, etc.; and therefore the simple regulation barring marriage within the father's gotra is by itself wide enough to cover both the gotra of the actual father, and that of the mother as being the legal father.

¹ This does not occur at this point in the pravara-chapter, but in ĀpŚS a. 2. 4-5 and 24. 1. 14.

² The bracketed words seem to be an unmetalinguistic scholium (yo vā haṁsi). This, and most of the following quotations, have already been given above, pp. 60-62; see there for references.

³ I have been unable to trace this or the preceding quotation. For this sattra, cf. ŚS 13. 25. 6 and ĀSS 12. 5. 16. Ed. here reads *śakṭya*, P2 *śakṭya*, for which *śakṭyānām* is a necessary emendation. Ed. also gives *-adhivaryava* for *-adhivaryavam*.

in fact the *devāmūṣyāyana* families do? To this we reply: all the pravara-teachers cite in this connection, among all the gotras, only the gotras of the Śunga-Śaisiris, etc., as *devāmūṣyāyana*, and prescribe for them alone pravara-names from both gotras, not for the others. For the others they give simply the pravara of the father's gotra. Hence, we are to understand that although a man belongs to two gotras, in the sense that he shares his mother's gotra as well, the pravaras have reference to the father's gotra only. Further, if the question of marriage within the mother's gotra is regarded as unsettled, since the *Manu-smṛti* and the other *smṛti* have equal authority, one should nevertheless avoid it, since (if the other *smṛti* should actually be correct) the sin and the expiation are heavy. And scholars of legal precepts (*nyāya*) say that one should avoid even a sin whose sinfulness depends only on the view of one party in an argument.¹ They say:

'Even if other people should be doubtful, men ought to forsake that which is not right.'

But it is objected, do not certain learned men act in this fashion? It is true, they do act thus, they even contract marriage with the daughter of their mother's brother, according to their own reading and interpretation of the two *smṛtis*. But after all, if we read the precept of the all-wise Manu, which indicates that marriage within the mother's gotra may be permissible, and also see such a marriage directly prohibited in another *smṛti*, and (in face of such evidence) are still in doubt because of mere customary usage—since this is the origin of delusion—how shall we ever dispel our doubt? Therefore in marriage the mother's gotra should be avoided equally with the father's.

¹ Thus, even if the 'other *smṛti*' is wrong, the 'safety first' attitude is to obey the stricter rule.

CHAPTER XI

THE MĀNAVA-PRAVARA

A. *Baudhāyana*

OR 'Like Manu' for all the gotras. 'For the people are human (*mānavyo hi prajāḥ*)'—thus it is known.

B. *Āpastamba*

Now, the Tāṇḍins conduct their worship with a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, common to all the *varṇas*, 'Manava' for the Hotr, 'like Manu' for the Adhvaryu. 'For the people are human'—so says a Brāhmaṇa, so says a Brāhmaṇa.

Puruṣottama comments:

Since a Brāhmaṇa passage of the *Taittirīyas* explicitly reads: 'for the people are human.' By the word 'people' is meant those of the three higher *varṇas* who have birth, fitness (to sacrifice), wealth, and who are not excluded by the Law-books. The repetition is in order to show the end of the *adhyāya*, or else as an auspicious mark.

C. *Kātyāyana and Lauṅgikī*

But some say: In every case he chooses a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Mānava', 'like Manu', for all the *varṇas*. For what reason? Because the people are human. But this is not legitimate—not by gods, not by men does he choose the *ārṣeya*, but by *ṛṣi* only. But this rule is applicable to people other than Brahmins and Kṣatriyas.¹

Puruṣottama comments:

This sūtra has already been explained in the first chapter, dealing with general rules. So, too, in his chapter on the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices, after giving the different pravaras according to varṇa, and faults as to pravara, Āpastamba says: 'Or else he does not choose an *ārṣeya*; (in which case) he should say simply "like Manu".'²

Now here, in the section dealing with the Manava-pravara, the meaning of the Sūtra-authors appears difficult to understand, because of internal contradictions as well as inconsistency with each other. How so? Baudhayana gives this pravara as being common to all the *varṇas*, and does not limit it as belonging to *Vaiśyas* only; while Kātyāyana, etc., condemn its use by all the *varṇas* in

¹ This is transferred from the *Paribhāṣa*-chapter, and does not of course belong to this part of the Sūtra text.

² *ĀpŚS* 2. 16. 12. Rudradatta's commentary makes this sūtra apply to Rājanyas only.

common, and give it as applying to Vaiśyas only. Āpastamba, again, after prescribing the separate pravaras in dealing with the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices, gives it at the end as common to all the varṇas, and does not prohibit its use. Because of this inconsistency, learned men are confused, and hence it is difficult to ascertain the intention of the Sūtra-authors. Moreover, if the use of a pravara common to all the varṇas were conceded, the result would be utter destruction, entailed by the mixing of the varṇas which the possession of one common pravara (and hence the prohibition of intermarriage) would bring about.¹ This argument is refuted by those who know the meaning of the Sūtra authors thus: Āpastamba's dictum² is not intended to prohibit the pravaras of the several varṇas. What then is its intention? To praise the pravara common to all the varṇas, which he is about to mention. How? The pravaras according to varṇa are hard to know, and can only be acquired by much effort, and therefore they are not to be used, but this that he is about to mention can be learnt more easily, and is therefore to be employed—thus it is praised. If it is further asked how it is understood that this is the meaning, we reply that otherwise the result would be that the composition of the pravara-chapter would not have been undertaken; and it has been undertaken.

Again, the chief significance of Katyāyana's prohibition of the one-ṛ̥ṣi pravara ('Mānava') does not lie in the prohibition itself. Where then does it lie? In prescribing this pravara 'common to all the varṇas' for Vaiśyas, by excluding the two higher varṇas, as is seen by the rest of the sentence, 'but this rule is applicable to people other than Brahmins and Kṣatriyas'. Moreover, as has been said, in the case of this common pravara, the question of marriage and so forth is not relevant, since there is no sameness of gotra involved.³ On this point we would say further that the prohibition of marriage with people of the same pravara is to be explained in the case of this Vaiśya-pravara as a partial relaxation of the rule, since the Vaiśyas do not need to avoid this common pravara in marriage.

This one-ṛ̥ṣi pravara 'Mānava', then, is prescribed for Vaiśyas only.

¹ 'All' the varṇas, characteristically, means throughout the three higher varṇas, Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas. If there is no possibility of intermarriage anywhere among these three the only resource is marriage with Śūdras, etc., and hence a 'mixing of the varṇas' (varṇa-samkara).

² I.e. 'he does not choose an ṛ̥ṣya'.

³ Read: -pakṣe 'samānagotratoḍḍ'.

CHAPTER XII CONCLUSION

Baudhāyana says:

He who goes to a woman of his own gotra should perform the *Cāndrāyana*; and when he has fulfilled the vow, he should not forsake (her if she is) a Brahman woman (but should live with her), as if she were a mother or a sister; the offspring is not defiled, and is a *Kāśyapa*—thus it is known.

Now, in the case of coincidence (of a pravara-ṛ̥ṣi), a man should avoid marriage with those (families) mentioned in the same section (of the pravara-list as his own)¹. The authority of Baudhāyana is to be followed: for the people are human²—thus it is known.

Of the gotras, there are thousands, millions, and tens of millions; but their pravaras are forty-nine, as the ṛ̥ṣi-names in them show.

Viśvamitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja and Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kāśyapa—these are the Seven Ṛṣis;

A gotra is made up of the descendants of the Seven Ṛṣis, with Agastya as the eighth.

He who knows his own pravara and those of others does not lose the right to perform sacrifices.

The Veda is the Mantras and the Brahmanas, it is said. Therefore³ the twice-born should make a great effort to know the pravaras.

Funeral rites, marriage, priests, hymns of praise, and the origin of gotras all stand firmly grounded in the 'Great-Pravara (-chapter)'.

He who constantly repeats the pravara-chapter every fortnight is magnified in the world of Brahma.

Puruṣottama comments:

⁴ A woman of his own gotra. One of his own pravara also is to be understood, since both are equally prohibited. The *Cāndrāyana*-penance is meant, because of its virtue as a means of purification.⁴ He should not forsake a Brahman woman. This prohibits the desertion which would (otherwise) be fitting as the result of being defiled by such a sin. 'Like a mother or a sister'—this is meant to show that the sin of sleeping together and of intercourse, and the consequent penances, are the same in the case of approaching sexually a mother or a sister.

¹ Reading with Ed. *atha samipāte vīroḍham tad-adhyāyair varjayet*. Caland, *a.s.* *evāhaś tadadhyāyam varjayet*.

² The point of this is not at all clear.

³ The logic of the word 'therefore' is not apparent.

⁴ The word 'puṣkala' in this sense is otherwise reported only from the lexicographers.

'The offspring is not defiled'. I.e. in the case where the child was conceived in ignorance (of the identity of gotra), since we have the *smṛti*-rule which designates as a Caṇḍāla a child born from such a union knowingly entered into. 'The offspring of a celibate ascetic. . . etc., and the son of a sagotra-marriage are said to be Caṇḍālas.' And is a *Kāśyapa* thus it is known. This means, the child which is born from a sagotra-marriage, even though of another gotra, becomes a Kāśyapa by gotra; thus it is heard in another *śākhā* of the Vedas.

On this scriptural authority, we are to understand that the offspring of a man belonging to one gotra becomes (in this case) a member of another gotra. In the case of coincidence. . . Thus it is known. Since the bare fact that marriage is prevented by identity of pravara equally with identity of gotra has already been given, and the same thing need not be said again, the meaning he intends to convey by this sūtra is: since the gotra-gaṇas and pravaras are given section by section in the forty-nine sūtra-sections, beginning with the Vatsas and ending with the Yajñavahās, a man who is distinguished as belonging to any one of the gotras of all the gotra-gaṇas of which there is coincidence,¹ i.e. being read together, in one and the same section, must avoid marriage with those in the same section—i.e. whose names are read in the same section: because of identity of pravara. The view of Baudhāyana. Here he refers back to what he has said earlier:² 'The Bhṛgu and Angrasas make a separate marriage, but not it the majority of pravara-names should be the same—this is the view of Baudhāyana'. The prohibition of marriage in the case of the Kevala Bhṛgu and Angrasas, being as they are outside the descendants of the seven ṛṣis, rests upon identity of pravara, since in their case the prohibition as to gotra merely would be pointless. The word 'Baudhāyana' is the purpose of the sentence; the view of Baudhāyana is to be taken as authoritative by all human beings. Why should this be? because Baudhāyana is equal to Manu, and Manu's view must be accepted by all human beings (*mānavaṁbhiḥ prajābhiḥ*). Why? He adds the reason 'for the people are human (*mānavaḥ*)—thus it is known.' That is, it is heard in the Taittirīya Scriptures, in the Fire-piling Chapter.³ "Be propitious for offspring" he says, he thus soothes him for offspring. "For human (offspring)" he says for the people (or offspring) are human. "Do not dry up sky and earth, nor the middle air, nor trees", he says: he thus soothes him for these worlds.

Of the gotras, there are thousands, etc. Here he gives the number of the gotras, in order to show the difficulty of knowing them, being as they are like the stars, or the dust of the earth. Of what sort then is this number? thousands. Because of the plural, we understand three or more thousands; more than this we do not know. Similarly with millions (*prayuta*) and tens of millions (*arbuda*) we understand three or more. Ten thousands make an *ayuta*, ten *ayutas* a *niyuta*, ten

¹ Puruṣottama's explanation differs in detail from the translation given above, but the resultant meaning is the same.

² Above, p. 66.

³ TS 5. 1. 5. 6.

niyutas a *prayuta*, ten *prayutas* an *arbuda*.¹ There being then (at least) three thousands, *prayutas* and *arbudas* of gotras (since the plural is employed), there turn out to be three *koṭis* (thirty million) of gotras, if the three plurals employed amount to three of each. If more than three, then we do not know how many *koṭis* of gotras there are. The meaning is: when there are so many gotras, how is it possible to distinguish between them? (The answer, given by Puruṣottama in three and a half verses, is that there are only forty-nine pravaras; Kātyayana, etc., it is true, give more; but the Teacher's word is equal in authority to the Vedas.)

We should mention here that all the pravara-teachers, after giving in order the names within each gaṇa, add the word *iti*, e.g. *ity ete vatsāḥ, ity ete āṛṣṭeṇāḥ, ity eteṣāṃ aravāḥ*. 'These are Vatsas; these are Āṛṣṭeṇas; these have no intermarriage.' In these cases, since the word *iti* is a synonym of *ittham*, 'thus', and is an additional word, the meaning must be taken to be: 'These, and so forth are Vatsas, these, and so forth, are Āṛṣṭeṇas; these, and so forth, have no intermarriage'—otherwise the word *iti* would be superfluous. Baudhāyana, in the Bharadvāja-gaṇa, after listing several separate gotras, fills out the number mentioned in his own verse by saying 'and the others whose names end in -*stamba* and -*stambha*'. Similarly, Āpastamba, in the same Bharadvāja-gaṇa, after listing several gotras, and giving their pravara, fills out the number by adding: 'This pravara belongs to all whose names end in -*stamba*.' Similarly, Kātyayana shows that some gotras have not been specifically mentioned, by saying 'and the others whose names end in that word'. Therefore, the Teacher, seeing that among the gotra-gaṇas already given, there are gotras to the number of three *koṭis* as given in his verse here, has shown the number of the gotras in the words: 'Of the gotras, there are thousands, etc.', with the intention of showing the difficulty of knowing them. Forty-nine (pravaras) only. This is to be explained with reference to his own text. As the ṛṣi-names show. This gives the reason in both cases. In the first case, it means the ṛṣis not previously mentioned, to such and such a number, seen in hymns, explanations, legends, Purāṇas, etc. In the second case, it means the pravaras are so many, as the Teacher has already shown. Thus it is well said, 'Of the gotras there are thousands, etc.'

Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, etc. With this he defines what is meant by *gotra*, since identity of gotra cannot be established if the nature of gotra is not known. The descendants of the seven ṛṣis. Here the word 'descendants' means descendants in general. Thus: whoever is a descendant, i.e. in the direct line of descent, in branches and subsidiary branches of the family, from any one of the seven ṛṣis and Agastya, and who also is himself a ṛṣi, is a *gotra* of that ṛṣi. For example, the gotras of Viśvāmitra are his descendants, Devarāta, etc., down to Kāta.

¹ *arbuda* is usually said to mean a hundred millions. Here it is taken as ten millions, and so a synonym for *koṭi*, as also in VS xvii. 2 ff. Cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. *dalām*.

The gotras of Jamadagni are his descendants Mārkaṇḍeya, etc. Similarly, Kṣamāyaya, etc., are the descendants of Bharadvāja. Others understand the definition of gotra in an inverted sense, as: Viśvāmitra is the gotra of Devarata, etc.; the gotras of Mārkaṇḍeya, etc., are Jamadagni, etc. Thus, these eight *ṛṣis* (Agastya and the seven *ṛṣis*) are the *gotras* of all the others. This latter interpretation is favoured by the usage of people in general, who say, for example, 'We belong to the Viśvāmitra-gotra, to the Ātri-gotra, to the Bharadvāja-gotra.' On the former interpretation, the usage would be: 'We are gotras of Viśvāmitra, we are gotras of Vasiṣṭha.' There is also an argument from Scripture: Gautama asked Satyakāma Jābala 'Of what gotra are you, my friend (or of whose gotra)?' And the answer: 'I do not know sir, of whose gotra I am.' But on the former interpretation, the question would have been: 'Of whom are you the gotra?' And the answer: 'I do not know, sir, of whom I am the gotra.' Therefore, this definition is the correct one. So, too, there is the popular application: 'The sun is the gotra of brilliances, just as the river is of all seas.'

Here we say: This is the argument of a man who does not know the view of Baudhāyana. How so? He has already said in the verse given above: 'Of the gotras there are thousands, etc.', thus making the number of the gotras to be three *koṭis*; and turning to consider what these gotras are, if he said: 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, etc., that is, the eight, from Jamadagni to Agastya, are the gotras', there would be a contradiction, and a consequent inconsistency. But on our view no such difficulty arises. Neither popular usage nor the argument from Scripture is really an obstacle, since the word *gotra* has both genders, having (in the masculine) approximately the same meaning as *putra*, 'son'. Thus, we can say equally, 'Kuṇḍina is the son of Vasiṣṭha', or 'Kuṇḍina is the gotra (masculine) of Vasiṣṭha'.¹

Pāṇini's definition of gotra:² 'A gotra is a man's descendants from the grandson onwards', must be taken to refer to the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya. That this is so may be seen from a comparison of the points in which it agrees with, and differs from, Baudhāyana's definition—in accordance with the maxim of the cow and the ox³ it is proper to comprehend them (so to speak) under the same family. Otherwise, by the fault of illicit extension of the range of the definition's application, the descendants of a Caṇḍāla, etc., would turn out to be a gotra. But if the two definitions are taken together, no fault arises. Therefore, Baudhāyana's definition is to be accepted. Here the question is raised: does

¹ This is most improbable. The word *gotra* is regularly neuter, and Puruṣottama has probably conceived the idea of a masculine word from its use in adjectival compounds. Thus, he seems to derive the phrase here, *caṇḍāhara gotrah* from *caṇḍāha gotrah*. The latter, however, is not a Tatpuruṣa, but a Bahuvrīhi compound (as Puruṣottama, indeed, recognises below), meaning 'having Vasiṣṭha as one's gotra'.

² Pāṇ. 4. 1. 162.

³ The two differ, it is true, but the similarities in essentials are such as to make it certain that they both belong to the same species.

Pāṇini's definition mean any descendant of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya? Or does it apply to *ṛṣis* only, i.e. a descendant of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, who is himself a *ṛṣi*, is a gotra? On the former supposition, the verse giving the number of the gotras, 'Of the gotras there are thousands, etc.', would run counter to it, since the number of all their descendants, past, present and future, *ṛṣis* and non-*ṛṣis*, is past all counting.¹ Everyday usage also contradicts it: for men do not speak of the descendants of Devadatta or Yājñadatta as the *gotras* of these two respectively. Nor do they consider that Yājñadatta's son or daughter is simply on that account of a different gotra from themselves, and contract marriage with them. But on the supposition that any descendant is meant in the definition, they would so speak, and contract marriages. Therefore, among all the throngs of descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, only those who are *ṛṣis* themselves, whether seers of hymns or not,² are to be understood as being gotras by the definition, since in this way, there is neither insufficient nor too great extension of the definition. This is also in accordance with popular usage, e.g. 'We are of the Mārkaṇḍeya-gotra, of the Yājñavalkya-gotra, of the Śāṅkayāna-gotra, of the Āpastamba-gotra, of the Āśvalāyana-gotra, etc.'. The fact that it is a *bahuvrīhi*, and the masculine gender,³ show that the compound *yājñavalkya-gotrah* is to be analysed as 'those of whom Yājñavalkya is the gotra', i.e. the founder of the family. Moreover (on the other view), phrases like 'All should be of the same gotra' is the view of Gāṇagārī, etc.⁴ would have no application. Thus it is well said: 'A gotra is the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya.'

On this point they say: to whom does this title of *ṛṣi* belong, what is the nature of a *ṛṣi*? To this we reply: a *ṛṣi* is one (among the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, who have received the forty sacraments, from the Garbhādhāna onwards, and are adorned with the eight good qualities of the spirit) who is famed among men by his continued perseverance in austerities. So, for example, the Scripture of the Vājins in the 'Secret Fire-lore'.⁵ In the beginning all this (world) was not-Being. As to this they say, 'What was this not-Being?' 'The *ṛṣis* were that not-Being.⁶ As to this they say, 'Who are these *ṛṣis*?' 'The *ṛṣis* are the Breaths: because, before this universe was,⁷ they, desiring it, moved (the *ṛṣis*)⁸

¹ The verse, though clearly indicating merely a large number, is still taken here to imply that Baudhāyana knew the actual figure.

² See below, p. 208.

³ Read: *paṇḍurgena mārdeite ca*. Puruṣottama here accepts the Bahuvrīhi compound in the case of gotras in the narrower sense, while above, where the seven *ṛṣis* and their descendants the *gotra-kāras* are in question, it is necessary for his argument to take it as a Tatpuruṣa, since, because of the definition of Baudhāyana, he cannot see that the expressions 'Vasiṣṭha-gotrah' and 'Devarata-gotrah' are precisely parallel, the only difference being that in the former case the word *gotra* is applied to the super family.

⁴ ŚB 12. 10. 1, above, p. 76.

⁵ ŚB 6. 1. 1. 1. From Puruṣottama's reference (*agnirahasye*) one would have expected *bik*. 10

to have been meant.

⁶ Read: *te 'ṛṣe' had ant*.

⁷ Reading *yat pūrvamāt sarvāmāt* with Biblind edition; Ed. *yadāmāt sarvāmāt*; S *yat pūrvamāt sarvāmāt*.

⁸ Egelling, 'exhausted themselves'.

with labour and penance, they are therefore *r̥sis*.¹ Here the meaning is, they are *r̥sis* because they achieved world-renown. Among *r̥sis* thus defined, those who are famed in the world for their greatness are called *mahar̥sis*, great *r̥sis*, as is seen from the expression: 'Of the great *r̥sis*, I am Bhṛigu'.² Among *r̥sis* thus defined, those who in one birth after another have sanctified their minds by the repetition and consequent knowledge and understanding of the meaning of the Vedas, and to whose minds therefore the hymns and the Brāhmaṇas, repeated in a former existence, appear (of their own accord) in the direct line of the tradition—as it were a man awakened from sleep—these are called 'seers of hymns'. So, too, the passage in the *Śaṅkhayāna-Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīya*s which explains the Brahma-sacrifice:³ 'Brahma the Self-existent streamed towards (*abhyūnar̥ṣat*, √*r̥ṣ*) the Speckled Goats (or Unborn Ones)⁴ while they were performing austerities. They became *r̥sis*. That is why *r̥sis* have their name.' 'Brahma the Self-existent streamed towards them' means 'the eternal Veda was revealed to them'. We have already described above how their descendants recite their names in their pravaras, to the number of one, two, three, or five. Among seers of hymns thus defined, those who have knowledge of all things past, present and future, are known as Sages (*muni*)—compare the scriptural text, 'If a man were to become disgusted with folly and wisdom (equally), he would become a sage'; and the etymology *manan̥in muniḥ*—'muni from *man*, to think', and also cases like 'Vālmiki, bull among sages'; 'Of the sages I am Vyasa'. Therefore, any descendant, from the son and grandson onwards, of one of the seven *r̥sis* and Agastya, who is himself a *r̥si*, whether he is a seer of the Vedic hymns or not,⁵ is held to be a *gotra* of that person, as, for example, Mārkaṇḍeya is of Jamadagni, or Devarata of Viśvāmitra. Thus any descendant whatsoever of these eight *r̥sis*, from the son and grandson onwards, provided he himself is a *r̥si*, must be considered as a *gotra* of that *r̥si*. The descendants of a *gotra-r̥si*, if they are *r̥sis* also, are also *gotras* of that *r̥si*. Thus we say: the *r̥sis* who are descendants of the seven *r̥sis* and Agastya are held to be *gotras* from both points of view, since, like the word 'son', the word 'gotra' expresses a relationship, so that the same term *gotra* is used both with reference to the *r̥sis* who are the fathers, etc., and with reference to the *r̥sis* who are the sons, etc. This being so, expressions like 'We are of the Mārkaṇḍeya-gotra, etc.', 'All should be of the same gotra, etc.', 'Of whose gotra are you, friend?' are fittingly employed, having reference to the sons, etc. On the other hand, the definitions of Panini and Baudhayana have their proper application with reference to the fathers, etc. It is established, then, that the descendants of the seven *r̥sis* and Agastya who are

¹ Used by Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavadgītā, 10. 25, to indicate his supremacy.

² *Taitt. Aṣṭyaka*, 2. 9.

³ *Bhag. Gītā*, loc. cit.

⁴ The usual medieval definition of *r̥si* in connection with *gotra* is 'a seer of Vedic hymns'. Puruṣottama, by giving a different connotation to the word *r̥si* presumably intends to escape from the undoubted fact that numerous *gotra-r̥sis* are not named in the Vedic Anukramanīs.

themselves called *r̥sis* are the *gotras* both of their fathers, etc., and of their sons, etc.¹

He does not lose the right to perform sacrifices. By means of this he shows that the knowledge of *gotra* and *pravara* destroys all sin. How so? The sin of sacrificing for an unfit person is understood from what Gautama says to be a sin even more serious than the great sins which cause loss of caste (*mahāpātaka*). Gautama, in giving the reasons for undertaking penances, says:² 'Sacrificing for an unfit person, speaking falsely, neglecting to do what is prescribed, and doing what is forbidden'. Now here, although the sacrificing for an unfit person would come under the heads of 'neglecting what is prescribed' and 'doing what is forbidden', yet Gautama, perceiving the seriousness of the sin, has not merely allotted it a separate place, but has given it first in the list. Baudhayana's meaning here is that those who know the pravaras avoid this sin.

The Veda is the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas. That is to say, since the pravaras are included among the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas,³ one should devote one's attention to the Pravara-books.

Funeral rites, marriage, etc. stand firmly grounded in the Great-Pravara-(Chapter). This praises the Great-Pravara-Chapter. So too, the verse:

'Since it is to be mastered by great effort, and since it is concerned with the great (*r̥sis*); and since it offers great rewards (to the student), it is therefore called the Great-Pravara-Chapter.'

Regularly, every fortnight. With this he shows that the fruit accruing to the man who reads the pravara-chapters in uninterrupted study through all the phases of the moon (*parecan*), is the attainment of the world of Brahma. But, it is objected, there is no means of attaining the world of Brahma, apart from

¹ The whole of this extremely muddled discussion results from the fact that Puruṣottama is arguing with a term (*gotra*) insufficiently rigid in its connotation. It is therefore constantly being used in slightly different senses, and Puruṣottama seems to be only half aware of the fact. The chief difficulty results from the use of the word *gotra* to denote the founder of a family, where the fuller *gotra-hṛda* would have made matters clearer. A further confusion is caused by the indiscriminate use of a name like Mārkaṇḍeya to denote both an individual of that name, and also the family named after him. This too Puruṣottama is quite unable to straighten out. Moreover, he is determined to stick to the letter of Baudhayana's definition, and therefore can allow the title *gotra* only to descendants of the seven *r̥sis* and Agastya—*gotras* of the second order, so to speak, such as Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.—and not to the eight *r̥sis* themselves, who constitute the first order. In the case of *gotras* of the first order, he is thus forced to say, for example, that 'Mārkaṇḍeya Jamadagni-gotrāḥ' means 'M is a gotra of J', and is precluded from seeing the obvious meaning, 'The (subsidiary gotra of) M belongs to the (super-) gotra of J'. Puruṣottama's argument is, in brief: Mārkaṇḍeya is a descendant of Jamadagni; therefore, because of Baudhayana's definition, he is a gotra of Jamadagni. Also, since M's descendants say 'We belong to the Mārkaṇḍeya-gotra', Mārkaṇḍeya is the gotra of these men. Therefore, Mārkaṇḍeya is the gotra both of his ancestor, and of his descendants. Much trouble would have been avoided if he could have analysed the application of his terms more precisely.

Puruṣottama next goes on to repeat the same discussion in verses, which, as they add nothing fresh, I have omitted here.

² GautDhS 19. 2.

³ Presumably, since the Pravara-ceremony is dealt with in the Brāhmaṇas; but in spite of the comment, Baudhayana's meaning remains obscure.

knowledge of Brahma, as is seen from the scriptural passage: 'There is no other path to be found.' Say not so, there is, for example, the 'Knowledge of the five fires'; and the method of 'Works alone'. As Gautama says: 'He who has the forty sacraments and the eight good qualities of the spirit, attains union with Brahma.'¹ Or else, since the pravaras are a constituent part of the regular (*nitya*) sacrifices, and since the regular sacrifices are a cause of salvation, therefore, by means of the pravaras is salvation achieved. There is no flaw in this explanation. Or else, through knowing how to recite (the names) of Vasistha, etc., who knew Brahma, and who resemble Brahma, and by this means building up a store of merit, which has as its fruit the knowledge of Brahma, a man may attain the world of Brahma. No fault can be found in any of these explanations.

¹ GautDhS 8. 24-25. Gautama's text, however, says that the eight good qualities without the sacraments may bring a man to union with Brahma, but not the sacraments without the qualities. This would be more apposite here.

[Finally, Purusottama quotes the concluding portion of 'Kātyāyana and Laugakṣi'. The text of this also is in a bad condition, and the version given by Ed. is completely incomprehensible in places. Man. and W both give the same passage; and because of the importance of the subject-matter, I have thought it worth while to give an emended text of the Sanskrit. Unfortunately, the elliptical style gives rise to several ambiguities, and it is to be regretted that there is no commentary available to assist in the interpretation.]

The pravaras have been explained. We shall now explain the modifications (arising in cases of adoption). Now, the origins of the Brahmins are twofold: (they are) either of a united family, or of two families. We shall explain how they originate, and to what (families) they revert. Those whose progeniture is unbroken in the male line of descent are 'men of connected family'. Those (among such) who, for more than seven generations back, or (at least) five, are (descended from ancestors who were) endowed with good birth, knowledge, virtue and good conduct, and are learned, are known as men who have notable fathers and grandfathers, *ṛṣis* and sons of *ṛṣis*; they are fit to be priests.

Now, those who, whether as given in adoption, bought, or adopted by the will of the adopter, or sons of a daughter designated to take the (legal) place of a son, and who, through their adoption by another, are entitled to name pravara-*ṛṣis* in different families, are 'men of two families'—as for example in the case of the Śaunga-Śaśirīs, the Bharadvāja-Audameghas, the Lauṅgās, and any other families which have arisen in like manner should make their pravara-recitation similarly: where the two pravaras are used together, the first pravara should be that of the begetter, the second that of the adopter. Or else (some say), three names should be recited from each. This he should not do (because of the text), 'He does not choose more than five'. Therefore, he should recite only three or five (names).

Those who are born of a male relative on the father's side who has the same pravara (as the legal father) are 'men of united family' and belong to the adopter's alone. If in such cases they (i.e. the adopter and the physical father) have no offspring by their own wives, they (the adopted sons) are to take the inheritance, and offer the funeral cake for them up to the third generation. If they do have offspring, the ruling of the Teacher is that they shall still make the funeral offering for both families (although they do not inherit). Such a person should either make two *Śrāddha*-offerings, or else, at the one *Śrāddha*, should designate them separately, and for the one cake should name two ancestors (in the line of) both the adopter and the physical father, up to the third generation.

Where the pravara is not known, he (i.e. the priest) recites the first of the pravaras given here (that is, the pravara of the Vatsas); or, in case of dispute, he should recite whichever pravara he may think appropriate in any particular instance.

A Rājanya uses either the pravara of his purohita, or that of his teacher. The

¹ The case in question is that of *niyoga*, or the levirate (though *niyoga* can take place after the death of the husband). The real father being the relative called upon to take the husband's place, the mother's husband is considered, legally, as the adoptive father. The male relative is of course of the same gotra as the latter.

vyakhyatāḥ pravaraḥ, vaiktṛtāni vyakhyāsyāmo; 'tho dvitayyo brahmananam samutpatayyo bhavanti: samhatakulinas ca dvayamsayyanakulinas ca; teṣam samutpatayyo pratipattim ca vyakhyāsyāmah. yeṣam puruṣataḥ prajotatitir avicchinna bhavati te samhatakulinaḥ. ye sapta bhūyāḥ pañcapuruṣam va yonir-
sruti-sīla-vṛtta-sampannāḥ śrūtavantaḥ te pitṛmantāḥ patitmatya ṛṣaya ṛṣeyās ta ārtvjinā bhavanti.

atha dattaka-kṛtaka-kṛtṛma-putrnikaputrāḥ paraparigraheṇa nanarṣaya jatas te dvayamuṣvayānā bhavanti, yathatate chaungā-śaśirīnam bharadvajāudameghinam lauṅgāṣam, yāni cānyān evam samutpatim kulāni bhavanti; teṣam tathāva pravaraḥ syuh: dvipravarasamipate pūrvāḥ pravara upadāyitv uttarāḥ pangrahituh api vā trayo'nye trayo'nye tan na tatha kuryat: na pañcāt-
pravrṇṇita iti; tasmāt trin eva pañca vā pravṛṇṇyāt.

atha yadi pitṛvyena jñātinakṛṣeyena jātā te samhatakulināḥ, parigrahitur eva bhavanti. atha yadi teṣam svastu bhāryasv aptayam na syad riktham hareyur pindam caibhyas tripurūṣam dadyuh. yady api syad ubhābhyam eva dadyur ity acaryavacanam. dve kuryad ekasmin śrāddhe vā prthag uddiṣyakaṇḍe dvay anukṛityat, pangrahitaran cotpādāyitarāṇ caṭṭiyat puruṣat.

ārṣeyajñānād eṣam eva pravaram ādāyam pravaram pravṛṇṇite, pratipraśnena vā yam yasopapannam manyeta tap tasya kuryāt.

purohitapravaro vā syad ācāryapravaro vā rājanyaḥ. etenaiva vaiśyasya

For *vaikhyatāḥ*, Ed. P samutpatibh pratipattī ca. — *dvitayyo*, so Mān., W, P; P 1 dvitayyo; Ed. trividhā 'samhata' dī dī c'. Mān., W omits, Ed gives in addition utpatikulinaḥ, thus justifying trividhā; P 1 sanahatakulināḥ; P 1 sanahatubh k'. — *teṣam i. p. ca yod*, so W; Mān. omits prajotatitir; P 1 omits entirely (having misplaced the phrase above). — W puruṣataḥ; W samgrata; P 1 tyanta; Ed. utpatti; — for *yoni*, W yāni; Mān. omits. — For *śrūtavantaḥ*, P 1 śrūtavanta; Mān. stavantaḥ pravanta; after this word Ed., P 1 omits te. — for *pitṛmantāḥ patitmatya*, Ed. has pitṛmantāḥ; — *ṛṣaya*, Mān. omits. Ed. before *ārtvjinā*, Ed., P 1 insert samhatakulināḥ; P 2 omits ārtvya te. — W bhavanti ārtvjināḥ; Mān. bh. ārtvjināḥ.

W -putrikāḥ (omits -putra). — *nānarṣaya*, Mān. (which adds ye); P 2 -grāhe nānā; Ed. -grāhe nānarṣaya; P 1 grāhe nānā. — W -grāhe nānarṣaya. — After *bhavanti*, W adds: dvayamsayyanah kakakulikas tasmād (dvipravaraḥ) smṛtas tasmād vibhāva-bharadvāja brahmaparikaṭṭya-viśas tathā, etc. (the last word for yathā). In this place in Mān. occur the dislocated lists from the Agastya. — Mān. odamedhināḥ. — Mān. alone preserves the old form lauṅgāṣam. — W yāni cānyathāivap. — W samutpannāḥ; Mān. samutpatim. — *kulāni*, Ed. omits. — *api* ed, so W, Ed.; P 1 api ca; Mān. api ca. — *tan na*; Mān., nanna; Ed., missing the sense entirely, tatra.

na pañcāt — *iti*, Mān., W omits. — *tasmāt*, Mān., W; Ed., P 1 hā; P 2 svāha. — (*pravrṇṇyati*, *iti*, Ed., P 1) gives the verb with both numerals; Mān., W (prajotatitir), W adds dvay eva trin nārtvrye. W adds 'thā yadi ārtvjin prabrūyāt; there is not, as Weber suggests, a lacuna, but merely a displacement. — *jñātinā*. — W kṣātinā naikṛṣeyāḥ; Mān. jñātinā vīrṣeyaya ye. — *te samhata*. — Ed.; P 1 te saṁgrata; P 2 te samgrata; Mān. samgrata. (omits te); W teṣam only. — *apātayam na syād*, P, Mān., W; Ed. syāt (na syāt) the meaning of these brackets is nowhere explained by Ed., and we are left to guess which is the correct reading and which the 'emendation'. — For *riktham*, Mān. rittham (?). — *piṇḍam* caibhyas, Mān., caibhyas. W piñca-cabhyas. — *yady api syād*, so W; Mān. yadi syād; P yadi na syād; Ed. yadi na syāt [ubhayor na syāt]. — After *dve*, W inserts śrāddhe. — *ekasmin śrāddhe*, so P; Mān., W ekasrāddhe; Ed. dve dve. — *uddiṣya*, so P; W snudhiya; Mān. snudhiya; Ed. prthag anuḥgulidhiya. — Ed. parigrahitarāḥ. — Mān. vīrtvryat; W ca ṭṭiyat.

ārṣeyajñānād; Ed., P 1 ārtvyañānād; P 2 ārtvyañānād; Mān. ārtvyañārtvyañānād; W ārtvyañānād; Mān. After *eteṣāṃ* W inserts ekasam pratipraśnena, W snana; Mān. paripraśnena — *manyeta*, so Ed., P 1, W (the last, however, na manyeta); Mān. manyeta. — Mān., P 1 tat tasya; Ed. tasya only. — Before *purohitapravaro*, Mān. P insert tathā; for the first ed, P 2 na; Mān. purohitapravaro pravaro syād icāryapravaro (sic) rājanya etenaiva tu pravareṇa vaiśyapravaro, etc.; for *ācāryapravaro*, Ed. ekācāryapravaro (omits ed).

pravara of a Vaiśya is explained similarly. If (a Rājanya) makes the pravara-recitation according to his rank, the Hotṛ should say 'Mānava, Aida, Paurūra-vasa', the Adhvaryu, 'like Purūravas, Ida, Manu'. If they share in a funeral repast for a common ancestor, they should not intermarry. The correct view, however, is known from a scriptural text 'Rājanyas and Vaiśyas have only their purohita's pravara'.

He who studies the Family(-names) rejoices in heaven for a thousand celestial years. The man in whose house a student of the Family(-names) eats, becomes a guest of each of the *ṛsis* for a thousand celestial years. He should not recite them to another, unless it be to his son,¹ or to a pupil who has studied with him for at least a year. He who studies the pravara-chapter rises above all those whose presence sanctifies a society.

¹ Literally, 'not to another, not to a non-son, not to a non-pupil,' etc.

pravaro vyākhyātāḥ. yadi sārṣṭim pravṛṇte manavāda paurūravaseti hota brūyāt purūravavad idavaṃ manuvad ity adhvaryuh. yadi pitṛyam aśniyur na vivāheyyuh. purohita pravarāv eva rājanyavasyau syātam iti ha vijñāyate.

divyaṃ varṣasahasraṃ svarge modate vamsādhyāyī yasyaivaśnātī vamsādhyāyī gṛhe divyaṃ varṣasahasraṃ cakaṣyārṣe anuṭṭha bhavati. nanyasmai varāṇaṃ dadyan naputrāya nāsisyāya nāsaṃvatsaroṣṭaya. sarveṣaṃ paṅktipavananaṃ uparistād bhavati yaḥ pravaraḍhyāṃ adhite yaḥ pravaraḍhyāṃ adhite.

sārṣṭim, Ed. *sārṣam*; P₁ *sasarsam*, P₂ *sarsu*, W. *sārṣṭi*, Mān. *sārṣṭyam*. — *pravṛṇte*, Mān. W. *prabrūvān*, Ed. P. *brūvān*. — *brūyāt*, Mān. W. omits — *aida*, P₂; P₁, Ed., W. *aia*, Mān. *aia*. — *idavaṃ*, restored. MS. *ila*, *ida*. — *pitṛyam*, P, W., Ed. *pitṛyam* — *enaheyyuh*, Ed., P, W. *vivāheyyuh*, in place of this sentence and the next, Mān. has *sārṣṭim* *pravṛṇtu* *pravarād* *eva* *rājanyavasyau* *syātām*, *dhimāṃ* *vasasyam* *āvusyaṃ* *rśināṃ* *kṛtāṇaṃ* *subham*. — Mān. omits the words *divyaṃ* — *gṛhe*, for *divyaṃ*, W. *divi*, *svarge*, W. omits, both times, W. *vamsādhyāyī*, for *vāṣṭvādhyāyī*, W. *vassa* *cāśnātī*, in place of *gṛhe*, W. *sa*. — Mān. *cakaṣya* *ārṣe* (*at*) *anuvam* *kṛtām* *bhāṣati*, yaḥ *pravaraḍhyāṃ* *adhite* *maithuna-gotrālabhe* *ruṣanta-rāṇāṃ* (*ai*) *avrodh* *it* *esamahā* (*ni*) *sakuntir* *samīpib*; *vedanāṃ* *mūlāṃ* *dharmasya* *cāgrāṇa* *rudraḥ* *śanadhikam* *vṛddham* *vṛddhau* *nāputrāya* *nāsisyāya* *nāsmvatsaroṣṭaya* *daśāt* — *nanyasmai* *varāṇam*, so W., Ed. *nānvavarāṇa*, P₁ *nānvavaro*, P₂ *nānvavaro* — *paṅktipavanā-* *nām* Ed. P, W. *paṅktivāṇām*, Mān. *paṅtipavanām*. — Instead of simply repeating the last three words, P₁ only has: *yaḥ* *pravaraḍhyāṃ* *adhite*; *sa* *ciraṃjivī* *bhavati* *punyavān* *bhavati* *yaḥ* *pravaraḍhyāṃ* *adhite*.

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[This index does not include forms which appeared so hopelessly corrupt as to be useless, but a number of borderline cases have been retained, where the form, though probably corrupt, might be of some interest. The inclusion of a name here is thus in no sense a guarantee of its authenticity, but is intended merely to lead the reader to the page or pages where he can consider for himself the evidence in each case. To obtain the full information, both simplex and vidding forms of a name should be consulted.]

Names of major gotras and gāṇas, and pravara-names which do not occur in this index can be readily found in the tables on pp. 31-7.]

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